

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Haig seeks allies for Central America attack

By Larry Seigle

Charging that Nicaragua is becoming a military "superpower" and is threatening to overrun all of Central America, Washington is continuing its drive to seek justification for a military move against the Sandinista revolution.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig took his traveling Big Lie machine to the Caribbean island of St. Lucia last week, for the meeting of the general assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS). Haig warned the OAS that "the militarization of Nicaraguans is but a prelude to a widening war in Central America."

Haig pressed for collective military intervention against Nicaragua. "The United States," he solemnly proclaimed, "is prepared to join others in doing whatever is prudent and necessary to prevent any country in Central America from becoming the platform of terror and war in the region."

The day before Haig's speech, newspapers around the country ran articles from Washington citing U.S. concerns about a military "build-up" in Nicaragua. The *New York Times* story was headlined "Nicaragua Arms Called Peril to Area." It quoted "a senior official" as stating that the Managua government is "on the verge of becoming a superpower in Central American terms" and is "fostering left-wing insurgencies

in Honduras and Guatemala as well as El Salvador."

The *Times* even quoted "military and intelligence analysts" as fearing that "the military buildup might constitute a long-term threat to Mexican oilfields to the north and to the Panama Canal to the south."

But what has Washington concerned is not the absurd charge that Nicaragua (population about 2.5 million) will simultaneously seize control of the Panama Canal and conquer Mexico (population about 65 million).

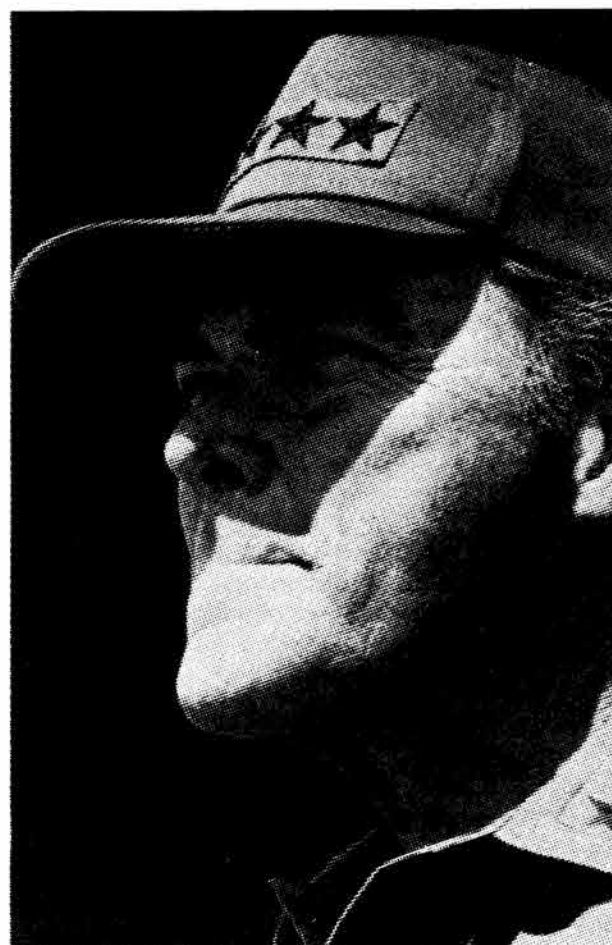
Rather, it is the fact that the people of Central America, inspired by the revolutions in Grenada and in Nicaragua, and the continued advances of revolutionary Cuba, are setting their sights on bringing to power workers and farmers governments in their own countries.

In El Salvador, the U.S.-backed junta is losing what little social base it has left, and is likewise losing the civil war in the countryside.

In Guatemala, the guerrilla war is reaching similar proportions, with the regime being forced to begin drafting peasants to staff the army, in what can only be a futile effort to turn the tide militarily.

The roots of these revolutionary upsurges are the grinding poverty and brutal exploitation the

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ALEXANDER HAIG

## 'Hit squad' frame-up masks new threat to Libya



Under the cover of combating mythical "Libyan hit squads," Washington is escalating its economic, diplomatic, and military aggression against Libya and the regime of Muammar el-Qaddafi.

### AN EDITORIAL

Among the immediate actions being considered by the Reagan administration are an embargo on the import of Libyan oil, a ban on travel by Americans to the North African country, and an attempt to organize a cutoff of all trade with Libya, what the *Wall Street Journal* called "the Iranian treatment."

The U.S. oil monopolies are deeply involved in the sabotage plans. Exxon has already an-

nounced it is pulling out of Libya and Mobil is considering doing the same.

According to *Newsweek* magazine, the administration is considering new "aggressive maneuvers" by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Gulf of Sidra, where U.S. forces shot down two Libyan airplanes last August, and promotion of a coup and/or assassination plot against Qaddafi.

What Washington can't tolerate is the Libyan government's support to anti-imperialist struggles — from sending aid to Nicaragua, to backing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to using troops to defend the Chad government against a military threat from forces organized by France, Chad's former colonial master.

The efforts to overthrow the Libyan govern-

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Speech by Grenada leader Maurice Bishop

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## Solidarity Day II — wrong road

On September 19 half a million workers poured into Washington, D.C., for the historic AFL-CIO Solidarity Day march. In their demonstration of working-class solidarity against budget cuts, the danger of new U.S. wars, and attacks on Black and women's rights, the marchers were seeking a new direction for the U.S. labor movement.

That new direction is all the more urgent three months later.

Today, Washington is preparing military aggression against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. Meanwhile the capitalists are plunging the U.S. economy deeper into recession. Unemployment has now hit 8.4 percent and will go higher. Big business is demanding major concessions on wages and working conditions in the 1982 contract negotiations.

The response of AFL-CIO officials to this offensive is not solidarity with the workers and oppressed here and abroad, but solidarity with the employers and their goals.

The recent AFL-CIO convention gave a political boost to Washington's war preparations in Central America by adopting a shameful resolution on Nicaragua. The resolution charged the Nicaraguan government with "totalitarianism" and urged "appropriate action at the international level to reverse this disturbing trend."

The same officials are on a campaign to convince U.S. workers to "face reality" and submit to bigger attacks on their standard of living.

This deepening class collaboration is what lies behind the AFL-CIO's call for Solidarity Day II, a drive to get Democrats elected on November 2, 1982. Presented as the way to fight against "Reaganism," Solidarity Day II's real purpose is to tie the unions even more closely to the two-party system.

... the labor movement and its allies must march to the polls in unprecedented numbers to elect a Congress that will reverse the disastrous policies of the Reagan Administration and restore humane government to the American people," states the Solidarity Day II resolution passed at the AFL-CIO convention.

Putting more Democrats in office won't reverse anything. Reaganism is not the creation of some right-wing Republicans who "captured" the White House in 1980. It is the program of the capitalist class, which has no choice today but to grind down the conditions of working people and weaken their organizations in order to improve profits. This program is being carried out by both the Democrats and Republicans.

The Democrats in the Senate, in fact, have just made it possible to pass the largest arms budget in U.S. history with a near-unanimous vote — 84 to 5. The \$208 billion sum is \$8 billion more than what Reagan asked for.

The Democrats' much publicized "concern" about jobs and cutbacks in social services was nowhere to be found as the vote on the arms budget was taken. Democratic whip Alan Cranston explained, "There is a consensus in the country and in Congress that we need more resources for national defense. We have to consider these needs on their merits and can't link them to social or economic needs."

These are the "anti-Reagan" candidates the AFL-CIO wants workers to "march to the polls" for. But why support the very politicians whose policies we marched against on September 19? Why don't the unions take the lead and run their own candidates in 1982?

That would be a step toward reversing Reaganism. It would point in the direction of fighting to replace the capitalist U.S. government with a workers government, labor's real answer to permanent war, unemployment, inflation, racism, and sex discrimination.

To fight for a government that represents working people and defends our interests the unions must break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party that can mobilize the power of the unions, Blacks, Latinos, women, and working farmers.

The perspective of a labor party struggling to establish a workers government is the real road forward from Solidarity Day on September 19.

## ...threat to Libya

*Continued from front page*

ment go back several years. They involve U.S. collaboration with France, Britain, and Libyan exiles. They remain very much alive today.

*Newsweek* reported that U.S. officials "openly admit that they would be delighted if someone else killed Kaddafi — and at least one Administration insider has been in direct contact with Libyan exiles in Western Europe who are determined to oust Kaddafi."

*Newsweek's* detailed report, written in November, establishes that the anti-Libya drive began well before Washington "discovered" that a Libyan assassination team was out to kill President Reagan and other U.S. officials. The "hit squad" story, aimed at portraying Qaddafi as an "international terrorist," is a transparent attempt to justify the real terrorist activities of the U.S. government against the Libyan leader.

Washington's initial version of the "hit squad" threat was reported in the December 4 *New York Times*. According to the report, "five

terrorists trained in Libya entered the United States last weekend."

Their mission was "to kill Mr. Reagan by shooting down Air Force One, the Presidential jet, with a surface-to-air missile, blowing up the President's limousine with a rocket or attacking the President at close range with small arms." No evidence was offered for a single "fact" in the report. Just the word of "an informant."

By December 5 the story had grown to "at least two informants," reported Associated Press. And on December 6 the assassination team had become a "ten-man squad." "Authoritative sources" confided to the *Washington Post* that the U.S. government had "the name of each squad member and known aliases."

However, despite repeated challenges to produce the "evidence" to back up the accusations, the Reagan administration has produced nothing.

That is because no evidence exists.

Washington's story is so transparent that even some of its own cops aren't going along with it. As the *New York Times* reported December 8, "Some officials, including senior officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, are said to be skeptical about the information."

In Detroit, one of the supposed planned entry points for the "hit squads," the *Detroit Free Press* reported that government officials "believe it's much ado about nothing."

"The way things are going," one said, "we're going to start getting calls from people seeing camels coming across the Detroit river in rafts."

After a secret briefing for members of Congress on the supposed plot, Sen. Patrick Leahy told reporters, "There is no hard evidence at all."

In an interview December 6, Qaddafi challenged Reagan to make public any proof at all of the assassination plot. "If they have evidence we are ready to see this evidence," the Libyan leader said. He called for an investigation to "let the American people and the Libyan people and the Congress of America . . . know the truth, who is a liar: Reagan or Libya."

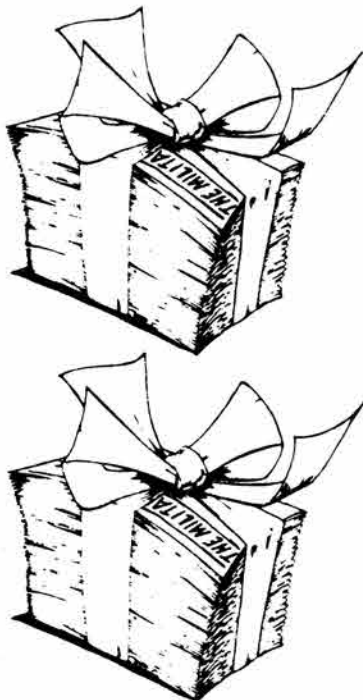
"America is attacking us," he explained, not the other way around. The U.S. government has tried "to assassinate me, to poison my food, and they tried many things to do this."

Refuting the "hit squad" charge, Qaddafi said "our support goes only to movements that struggle for a just cause, like the PLO."

"America must get rid of this Administration and fell it down as they did with Nixon."

U.S. working people should oppose Reagan's new moves against the Libyan people. We must demand U.S. hands off Libya. No to economic sanctions and travel bans.

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

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# Rallies back suit against gov't

## Detroit: UAW rep blasts spying

By Bill Arth

DETROIT — "When one person is denied freedom of speech or harassed because he exercises it, we must all come to their defense," said Bob King, financial secretary of United Auto Workers Local 600, the largest union local in the country. King was speaking at a November 30 rally in defense of political rights.

"That task would be easier," King continued, "if we lived up to labor's true responsibility, as enunciated by Eugene Debs: 'We have got to unite in the same labor union and the same political party and strike and vote together.'"

The theme of the rally was support for fifteen workers fired by Lockheed in Atlanta, Georgia, because of their socialist and pro-union ideas and activities.

The firing of the Lockheed workers "outrages but does not surprise me," said Robert Tyner, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Allied Services Division.

"We have been fighting against this over the years. Black Americans are especially aware of this, both in the union movement and the civil rights movement."

Tyner pointed to the FBI harassment of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He also drew on the experiences of the railroad unions with company spies. Tyner noted the use of Pinkerton private police to break the Pullman strike in 1894, and the use of a company disruption campaign in the 1920s during the drive to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

"The attack on the fifteen Lockheed workers," said Tyner, "is a challenge to the right of all of us to speak out and organize in our unions free from government surveillance."

Detroit attorney Ron Reosti, who is representing the Lockheed workers in their fight to regain their jobs, also spoke. He called the Lockheed case "a clear example of a private industry acting as an arm of the government to carry out an old-style red scare."

"Not only did Lockheed work hand-in-glove with federal and local police agencies, but they took it on themselves to act as a police agency to purge workers

for their political views.

"This type of action is clearly illegal if carried out by the government. But the government is hiding behind a private company. . . . We intend to challenge that."

Reosti said that the Lockheed workers intend to challenge their firing as a violation of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) contract with Lockheed. The contract explicitly prohibits the firing of workers for their political beliefs.

The fired Lockheed workers are members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the IAM.

André Kahlmorgen, one of the fifteen fired by Lockheed, was the keynote speaker at the rally. She is currently touring the country building support for her case and for other victims of political repression.

She explained the company/FBI collaboration that led to the firings at Lockheed, including company spying on union meetings and on the private lives of the socialists.

"There is a general attack on democratic rights," she said, "and this goes with the harassment of workers in the war industry. They want a disciplined workforce, and the way they aim to get it is through intimidation. If they can trample on the Bill of Rights one time, that makes it easier the next time."

Kahlmorgen linked the attacks on workers rights with the increased threat of war, especially in Central America and the Caribbean.

"There have always been attacks on democratic rights in prewar periods," she said. "When the government is carrying out unpopular policies, it would like to stifle dissent, and the most unpopular policy of all is war."

## Air controller leads off Indy rally

By Jenny Austin

INDIANAPOLIS — Terry Bobell, president of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) Local 1983, was a keynote speaker at a November 29 rally in defense of political rights.

Bobell, who spoke representing both PATCO and the Marion County Central



JP GOVERNMENT SPYING  
FEND TH

Bob King (at podium), financial secretary of United Auto Workers Local 600, was among speakers at Detroit rally.

## Funds needed to press case

By Matthew Herreshoff

Workers at General Dynamics, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and Tenneco are fighting back against company/government witch-hunting.

It takes tens of thousands of dollars to go up against these giant corporations and their government.

You can help win victories in these and other important battles in defense of political rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has launched a \$125,000 fund drive to support these cases and other battles against the government's political police.

So far, over \$50,000 has been raised. Pledges at PRDF's fall rallies

will make up most of the difference.

The big job now is to make sure those pledges come in before the January 31 deadline.

PRDF's goal is to make the \$125,000 fund — in full and on time.

Every contribution will play a big part in winning these important battles for political rights. If you would like to help, please send in the coupon below with your donation.

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Labor Council, denounced the government's campaign of harassment and union busting against PATCO as an attack on the Bill of Rights.

Labor support for political rights was the theme of the rally. Speakers included Roger Walford, president of United Auto Workers Local 1983; Homer Smith, president of the Indianapolis NAACP; Garnett Day, representing the Indiana Civil Liberties Union; and Robert Rose, president of American Federation of Teachers Local 3153.

Rose hit U.S. war preparations, stating that because of increased U.S. militarism, the government was stepping up

attempts to silence dissenters.

Betsy Soares, a member of the International Association of Machinists and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, was a featured speaker. Soares also pointed to the government's preparations for war in Central America and the Caribbean as a key factor behind Reagan's heightened attacks on civil liberties.

Soares, who is touring the country for the Political Rights Defense Fund, outlined PRDF's response to the most recent government attacks. She called for a continued broad response to the government's antidemocratic offensive.

## Socialist councilman beats gag order

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, Calif. — An important victory was won here December 3, when a right-wing, racist attempt to silence socialist City Councilman Mel Mason went down to defeat.

Mayor Pro Tem Berdine "Bud" Houser had publicly threatened to introduce a "gag" ordinance making it a misdemeanor for city council members to use their title in making press statements or to use city stationery for press releases on issues "outside the scope of city business."

Houser was irked by a November 19 press conference and statement by Mason protesting Secretary of State Alexander Haig's accusations of Cuban military intervention in El Salvador and threats of U.S. military action against Nicaragua.

Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that "these lies are part of a conscious attempt to plunge this country into a war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. Such a war would directly affect the city of Seaside, whose youth would be drafted to fight and die in El Salvador."

Not being cowed by the right-wing attempt to silence him, Mason and his supporters launched what the city's Black

newspaper, the *Seaside Post*, called a "blistering counterattack." For several days, Mason appeared on local television, gave several radio interviews, and, in addition to a front-page feature in Seaside's Black community newspaper, a lengthy article appeared in the Monterey area's daily, the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*.

In the days prior to the council meeting, additional publicity was generated by a visit to the peninsula by Political Rights Defense Fund spokeswoman Diane Wang.

PRDF has been organizing public support and fundraising for the historic lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against FBI and CIA illegal activities.

Wang issued a press statement comparing the government's recent attempts to witch-hunt SWP members out of jobs, solely because of their opposition to the war drive, to Houser's attempt to prevent Mason from speaking out against the war drive as a member of the Seaside City Council.

Aware of the unpopularity of supporting the attempt to silence someone who was expressing the widespread public sentiment against war, other members of the council began to take their distance from Houser's actions.

These very same council members had voted for a similar motion earlier this year after Mason had denounced racist treatment of Black soldiers at nearby Fort Ord.

Members of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), of which Mason is a leading member, and other opponents of the right-wing "gag ordinance" attended the December 3 council meeting. Supporters of the right wing were conspicuously absent. Houser sat stone-faced throughout the meeting.

"I cannot see anyone trying to restrict or curtail what any council member or the mayor has to say, be it in the city or out of the city," declared Ewalker James, president of the Citizens League for Progress. The Citizens League was active in the campaign to elect Mason to the council.

In an attempt to head off the expression of outrage, the mayor interrupted James, announcing that no such action would be taken.

After the council meeting, Mason told reporters that the mayor and council members had received numerous protests against the proposed ordinance. "This is a victory for those of us speaking out against another Vietnam in Central America," Mason told the *Militant*.



MEL MASON

Militant/Fred Murphy



# Nicaragua rebuilds

## Report from a tour by U.S. socialists

*"We want peace, but not at the cost of our freedom. We don't want war. But if war is thrust upon us, we will resist with a war of the entire people."*

— Daniel Ortega, Coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction, to United Nations General Assembly on October 7.

By Caroline Fowlkes and Joel Britton

On November 15 a dozen socialist workers from eight U.S. cities completed a tour of revolutionary Nicaragua that left no doubt in our minds about the truth of Daniel Ortega's remarks at the U.N.

Our discussions with working people and youth in six cities deepened our commitment to oppose U.S. imperialism's moves to crush the Nicaraguan revolution; and to encourage others to experience this still-unfolding revolution on future *Militant-Perspective Mundial* tours.

From the moment of our arrival at Managua's Augusto C. Sandino International Airport, we were greeted with banners and posters denouncing Washington's threats of military intervention against Nicaragua. Members of the Sandinista People's Army were on hand, having just been placed on alert in response to these threats and to stepped-up attacks across the Honduran border by the forces of the old Somoza dictatorship.

The soldiers and armed militia members we encountered often mixed casually with other Nicaraguans, underlining the sense of calm combined with combat readiness that you feel everywhere.

An extensive recruitment campaign, with slogans on walls, billboards, and posters, aims to bolster the Sandinista People's Militia. Everyone from fourteen to sixty-five is urged to join. The key requirement, a city council member in Estelí told us, is "being disposed to defend the revolution, being ready to defend our country."

A poster on a nearby wall, one we saw everywhere we went, said: "The sovereignty of a people is not to be discussed; it is to be defended, arms in hand!"

### Progress worth defending

The major enemies of the people of Nicaragua have been the illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, bad health condi-

tions, and physical destruction inherited from the Somoza dictatorship and the war to overthrow it that ended July 19, 1979.

Progress by the Nicaraguan people in rebuilding and developing their homeland is seen everywhere, despite continuing poverty and severe economic problems.

A beautiful children's park is being constructed in the central area of Managua, which was devastated by the 1972 earthquake and never rebuilt under Somoza.

During our visit a new children's library was being dedicated near the park. We were able to join many children there as Tomás Borge, a top FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) leader, told them: "Every Nicaraguan should have a book in his or her hand. A book and a rifle. This is going to be a revolution of books, rifles, and guitars."

In Estelí, heavily damaged by Somoza's bombing, unsalvageable ruins are now grass-covered. The city's energies have turned to building schools and sewage systems, helping with the coffee harvest, and conducting campaigns to improve health care.

Workers in Estelí played a big role in making the revolution, Ernesto Lagos, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), explained to us. "We are not afraid of the U.S. government. All members of the CST here are in the militia. We are ready for the defense of our production."

Celebrating the sixty-fourth anniversary of the Russian revolution, this CST hall featured a large portrait of Lenin flanked by placards with quotations from the central leader of the first successful workers and peasants revolution.

### Health and education

In Matagalpa, we saw the education campaign being carried out as a follow-up to the earlier literacy crusade. At a Catholic orphanage and a local school, people gathered to continue their education. Teenagers were hard at work with their students, mostly women, of all ages.

The Sandinista Defense Committees, organized on a neighborhood basis, mobilize for health campaigns. Just before we arrived, a massive campaign to eradicate malaria was completed. At many



Intercontinental Press/Matilde Zimmermann

In early November, Nicaraguans concluded massive campaign to eradicate malaria, reaching more than 90 percent of population in three days. Here, young volunteer distributes medication door to door.

places we visited, people proudly recounted their success in reaching over 90 percent of the population with preventive medication in three days.

We also visited the medical school in León. Under Somoza its enrollment was limited to fifty students. Now the school has over 500 students who pay very low tuition. A modern dental school is functioning there for the first time.

We were told of the medical help provided by volunteer doctors from Cuba, mostly in remote areas under harsh conditions. A popular slogan in Nicaragua is "Che knows no borders."

This slogan also expresses the deep solidarity with other revolutionary struggles in Central America, and revolutionary Nicaragua's stand that an expanded U.S. or U.S.-backed intervention to defeat the advancing rebel forces in El Salvador will be considered an attack on Nicaragua, and will be treated accordingly.

We visited housing projects constructed to alleviate a 250,000-unit shortage. Some buildings stand half-completed and empty due to the cutoff of U.S. loans earlier this year.

### 'Fight for production'

We talked with agrarian reform officials who described its second stage; many poor peasants have benefited by getting land and credit and joining in cooperatives.

At the Los Arcos dairy farm, a state-owned enterprise near León, the veterinarian told us of their efforts to raise milk production and improve the herd. He also spoke of the impact on their work of U.S. threats against Nicaragua: "The training of militia impedes our production. It takes the workers' time. Expensive energy resources, as well as vehicles, must go for transporting the army. Our people want to fight for production, not in wars."

Half the country's industrial plants were destroyed during the war, a CST leader in Managua told us. Many were bombed by Somoza in his final days in power, even as he was planning his escape to Miami. Most remaining factories have been kept going, despite sabotage by some owners and shortages of raw materials or spare parts caused by U.S. trade policies.

Though 60 percent of the economy remains in private hands, industrial and agricultural workers are playing an increasing role in decisions that affect conditions on the job and in efforts to increase production.

Workers at Rolter shoe factory in Managua were determined to keep production going even in the absence of the plant owner, who had left the country a couple months earlier. We asked what we should tell U.S. workers. "We are a peaceful people," one worker said. "Please be our voices. Let your people

know how much we support the process of development that is going on in our country. In two years we have seen more advances in our plant and in our lives than in forty-five years under the Somoza dictatorship. Workers worldwide have the right to live in peace, and we should be supported in our right to do this."

### Women's role

Women were heavily involved in the fighting against Somoza, making up 30 percent of the FSLN freedom fighters. And they play a very big role in the deepening revolution today. Angela Rosa Acevedo, a leader of the women's organization AMNLAE and a member of the Council of State (the national legislature), told us of the many gains won by women. She explained how all laws were being reviewed with the aim of guaranteeing equal rights for women. She stressed the need for economic development to provide the material conditions needed for the full liberation of women.

We told her of the debate in the National Organization for Women over whether the feminist movement here should, as the NOW leadership asserts, support the drafting of women into military service. She responded by pointing to the need for Nicaraguan women "to defend our revolution."

"We trust the North American women will accompany us in this struggle. Women in the U.S. have nothing to win by being in the capitalist army. It is not enough to carry arms. You must ask, whose arms are they? The imperialist army is the army of women's enemy."

### 'Critical point'

Father Ernesto Cardenal, the minister of culture, told us how "the democratization of culture" is being carried out, with the goal of mass participation in artistic expression and sports. "Our cause," he said as we ended our meeting, "is the same cause you have. We have the same enemies, especially the administration in Washington. We want to have peace, you want peace."

"We are at the most critical point in our revolution," explained Edgard Macías, vice-minister of labor, referring to the threats from "abroad" that come at the same time as economic and political problems that led to emergency measures earlier this fall.

But coupled with concern over U.S. interference in their lives is a mood of determination not to go back to the conditions suffered under years of U.S. domination. This was best summed up by a grandmother we met on a street corner in Managua. "We were so poor that we didn't even have a piece of bread," she said. "But when a people rise up, they're not going to go back. It is better to die than to surrender."

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# ...Haig seeks OAS allies

Continued from front page

toilers suffer, conditions that are being made still worse by the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. These problems are not caused by Cuba or Nicaragua, but by imperialism itself.

Take, for example, Costa Rica, which Washington has pointed to as the showcase of capitalist democracy and healthy economic development in Central America.

Costa Rica's foreign debt has tripled in four years, and the government is already technically bankrupt, unable to pay the interest on a foreign debt totaling \$2.6 billion.

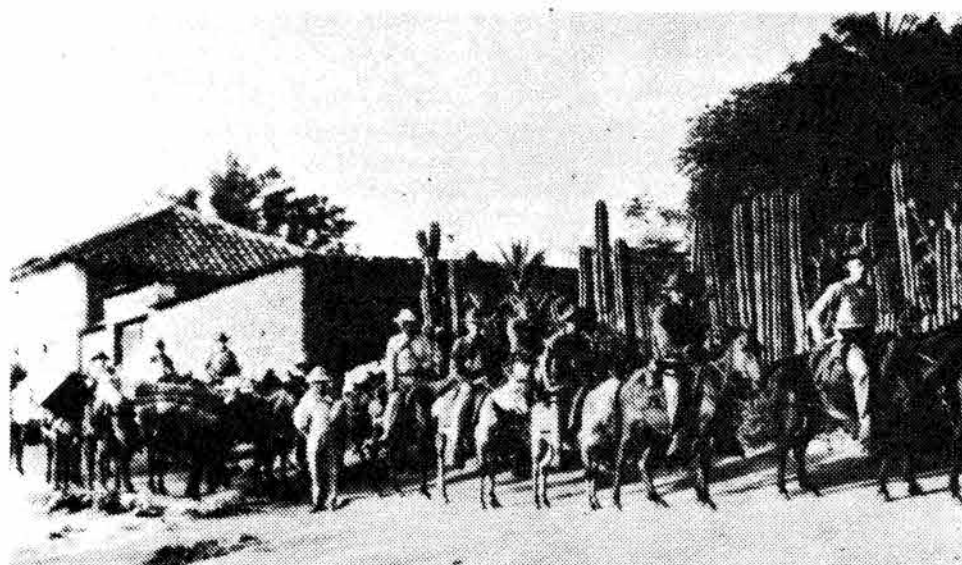
As the December 9 *New York Times* reported, "Costa Rica has been sternly warned by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and its angry foreign creditors that no one will bail out this country until its government adopts unpopular austerity measures."

What Costa Rica faces is typical of nearly all of Latin America. In 1965 the foreign debt of all Latin American countries amounted to \$10 billion. By the beginning of 1980, the total had multiplied to \$150 billion.

## Reality ignored

Yet it is precisely this reality that Haig ignored at the OAS conference. For the American secretary of state, the only possible explanation for the advance of revolutionary struggles in Central America is what he called "subversion, propaganda, and interventionism" by Cuba and Nicaragua.

Cuba, he said, "calls the leaders of violent opposition groups together, forges



United States Marines in Nicaragua, 1928. Nicaraguans have right to strengthen defenses against new U.S. military threats 'without accounting to anybody.'

unity pacts among them, trains their men, provides their arms and sends them back to mount a violent challenge to legitimate governments."

Among the "legitimate governments" Haig had in mind was the Salvadoran junta, responsible for the slaughter of 11,000 civilians this year alone. Also on Haig's list of legitimate regimes is the one in Guatemala, installed in a CIA-backed invasion in 1954. According to church officials there, the number of victims of the military this year has matched the deaths in El Salvador.

Haig's charges against Nicaragua were answered well by Commander Daniel Ortega, one of the leaders of the Sandinista government, in a speech to the closing session of Nicaragua's Council of State in Managua December 5.

"We are calmly asked why are we arming ourselves, why are we expending such efforts to acquire guns, ammunition, and equipment. . . . If a power such as the United States, which has already invaded us [in 1912 and 1926], threatens to invade or set up a naval blockade, wouldn't it be irresponsible to act in any other way?"

"It is our sovereign right to strengthen our defenses without having to account to anyone," he declared.

Responding to Haig's offer of improved relations if Nicaragua would abandon its revolutionary policies, Ortega added: Nicaragua has "the doors open for an understanding with the United States, but it does not accept the door that they offer Nicaragua because it is such a tiny door that in order to pass through it you have to walk on your knees and we are not going to walk on our knees."

The OAS meeting itself was less than a blazing victory for the Reagan admin-

istration. The delegates had to listen to a speech by Nicaragua's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, in which he denounced "the use of force and the threat of the use of force against countries such as Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, and Grenada."

D'Escoto pointed to the record of the OAS itself, which has been an "active accomplice of the United States in its interventionist policy," including the expulsion of Cuba in 1962 and the imposition of a "mandatory termination of all trade" with Cuba in 1964.

## Bygone days

But, as D'Escoto pointed out to the OAS delegates, the relationship of forces in the world and in Latin America has changed since the "bygone days" when the U.S. succeeded in ramming through the blockade of Cuba. Today, the voices of revolutionary governments, such as Grenada and Nicaragua, are heard at the OAS meetings, to the great displeasure of the U.S. delegates. (Haig, in fact, absented himself from the session where D'Escoto spoke.)

Many regimes, under mounting pressure from their own populations, have great difficulty in voting with the United States for action against those countries that stand up to Washington.

The strongest resolution that Washington thought it wise to introduce at the meeting was one supporting the junta's plan for general elections in El Salvador. Grenada, Nicaragua, and Mexico voted against it and four other nations — Panama, Trinidad and Tobago, Suriname, and St. Lucia — abstained.

Peter Josie, St. Lucia's Foreign Minister, reminded Haig of the problems facing Washington when he told the OAS assembly: "Let us not have traded our independence for any aspect of neocolonialism. We do not wish to be reminded of any input into our area in terms of what we are expected to pay for it."

However, Haig's inability to muster a public display of support for a military move against Central America does not in the least make such a move less likely. It merely makes it more difficult for Washington to carry it through.

But it is precisely because Washington cannot tolerate the people of Latin America taking the economic and political affairs of their countries into their own hands that U.S. confrontation with the advancing revolution is inevitable. And that is what is being cooked up.

*New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported that he was told on December 5 by "a senior State Department official, who asked not to be named," that "the next several weeks would be crucial."

Gwertzman reported that the "Administration hopes to formulate some kind of collective approach to deal with the situation. . . ."

"One possibility would be military cooperation between El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Guatemala, the countries perceived to be most threatened by Nicaragua, with aid and advice provided by the United States, Argentina and other major powers."

# Salvador freedom fighters advance

By Nelson González

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig has stated that without substantial military assistance from the United States, El Salvador's military government is likely to topple and fall. He has characterized the situation as a "stalemate."

This is an implicit admission that despite the enormous amounts of military and economic assistance, including military advisers provided by U.S. imperialism to the murderous Salvadoran junta, the liberation movement in El Salvador is rapidly advancing.

Despite Washington's aid and its plans to give \$250 million more, the junta is increasingly becoming caretakers of a disintegrating economy and a demoralized army. The regime maintains its power by savage repression, the last six months alone more than 9,000 people have been murdered by government forces.

Nevertheless, on November 10, *Washington Post* reporter Alma Guillermoprieto reported that guerrillas control one fourth of all Salvadoran territory. There is at least one liberated zone in each of the fourteen provinces in El Salvador.

Since the bombing in October of the Puente de Oro bridge, the most important military development has been the failure of government forces in a recent offensive to dislodge the fighters of the Frente Farabundo Martí de la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) from their positions in Usulután in the southeast. Although the terrain in Usulután is flat and provides almost no suitable cover for guerrilla fighters, the support from the local population and the highly coordinated operations of the different guerrilla organizations enabled the FMLN fighters to beat back government forces and consolidate their hold on the area.

With this consolidation the FMLN has effectively divided the country into two parts, clearly dominating the eastern half of El Salvador.

With respect to the economy, due to the effective attacks by the FMLN against economic targets, the Salvadoran National Association of Private Enterprise on December 5 declared, ". . . our economy will end up in a complete total breakdown."

The lack of confidence of the country's capitalists is reflected in the massive capital flight. There are no foreign reserves left in El Salvador. Unemployment exceeds 30 percent and inflation is 50 percent. Real wages have declined 35 percent while the prices of essential foods have doubled, in some cases tripled.

All this occurs in the context of the deepening international isolation of this murderous regime as well as the international repudiation of the upcoming "elections" being organized by the junta.

On December 6, the conservative Archbishop of San Salvador Arturo Rivera y Damas accused the junta headed by Napoleon Duarte of imposing, "an almost massive level of repression in rural areas," and "selective" violence against civilians in the urban centers.

France, Greece, Denmark, and the Netherlands are currently preparing to present a resolution in the United Nations calling for negotiations before any elections.

In the United States, on November 19, the House Foreign Affairs Committee passed a resolution calling on Reagan to support, "unconditional discussions among the major political factions in El Salvador in order to guarantee . . . free and open democratic elections."

It's clear that Washington's cynical maneuvers to refurbish the junta through farcical elections is also being "stalemated."



DANIEL ORTEGA

Militant/Fred Murphy

## Cuban teacher murdered

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA — On December 4, a young Cuban primary school teacher named Aquedo Morales Reina was ambushed and killed by a band of counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua's Chontales Province, east of here. The killing took place only six weeks after two Cuban teachers and two Nicaraguan peasants were murdered near the town of Siuna.

As word of the killing got around Managua December 5, people began to crowd into the Sandinista Workers Federation headquarters where the coffin lay in state. Young men and women in uniform, students, Cuban teachers and doctors, stood in line in the hot sun waiting their turn to take part in the honor guard. They switched from a guard of four to one of eight persons and changed them every couple of minutes, and still there were always more in line.

Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge spoke to the crowd that had gathered to protest the assassination.

"Here lie the remains of an 'invader,'" he said with a sweep of his arm.

"The words were hardly out of Mr. Haig's mouth," Borge continued, "in which Haig spoke of invaders, when his agents were killing yet another teacher."

"So here lies an invader."

"We remember the invaders of the past. The invaders who desecrated cemeteries. The invaders who raped Nicaraguan women. The murdering and torturing invaders of the past."

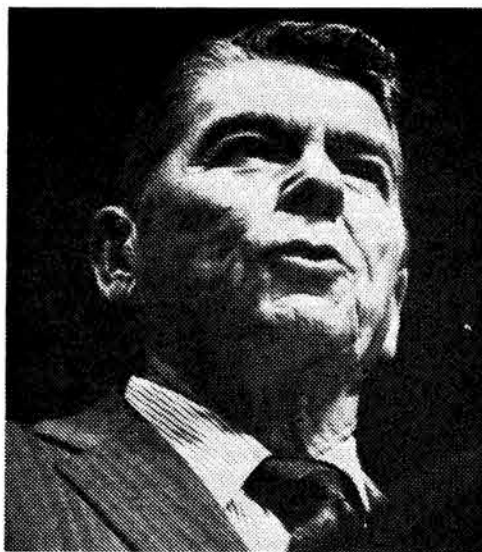
"But this invader didn't come to kill children and rape women. This boy, this young man of only twenty-eight, left his wife and two small children to come to Nicaragua to teach people who didn't know how to read and write."

"Invader! This teacher. Is there any crime more cowardly? There cannot be any greater crime in the world than killing a child or a teacher. In this case, by killing a teacher, they killed the opportunity to learn to read and write of who knows how many children."



# FBI, CIA granted new powers

## Bipartisan support for Reagan move



Reagan and CIA Director William Casey



By Jim Mack

President Reagan, who campaigned on a promise to "get the government off the backs of the people," has granted the political police expanded powers to spy on us and disrupt our lives. On December 4, Reagan signed an executive order replacing an earlier version issued by President Carter in January, 1978.

To the accompaniment of well-timed newspaper headlines screaming about a supposed Libyan assassination squad stalking government officials, Reagan declared that "an approach that emphasizes suspicion and mistrust of our own intelligence efforts can undermine this nation's ability to confront the increasing challenge of espionage and terrorism."

The new executive order drops some of the very mild limits that the Carter order had publicly imposed on the activities of the secret police. However, the real guidelines and procedures governing the FBI and CIA have been and remain classified information, hidden from the American people.

The executive orders are merely political statements of general policy. And that is the significance of the new presidential order.

### End to 'negativism'

"As we move into the 1980s," Reagan proclaimed, "we need to free ourselves from the negative attitudes [toward the FBI and CIA] of the past and to look to meeting the needs of the country."

The "needs of the country" Reagan is worried about are the needs of the ruling class for a stronger political police as it tightens its squeeze on working people at home and prepares military adventures overseas.

The Carter order was issued in response to the suspicion and hostility toward the FBI and CIA that flooded the country after the dam burst on some of their secret operations. As the public learned part of the truth about secret police disruption operations at home, and conspiracies to assassinate leaders and overthrow legitimate governments abroad, the rulers' secret police became discredited.

Thus the rulers began a campaign to convince the American people that the FBI and CIA had been reformed. New guidelines were published, ostensibly restricting some FBI and CIA activities. Bipartisan committees were set up in Congress to "oversee" the FBI and CIA.

FBI agents were even taught to speak about "established concepts of privacy and civil liberties." Those who couldn't mouth the words were forced into retirement.

A key role in this process was played by the liberals, who lent their endorsement to the "new" FBI. A number of lawsuits against FBI crimes were settled out of court on the basis of assurances from the government that the FBI would no longer violate constitutional rights. The Congressional "oversight" committees, operating behind closed doors, settled into a cozy bipartisan relationship with the spymasters.

Even officials of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) added their seal of approval to the overhauled FBI. Earlier this year, Jerry Berman, ACLU legislative counsel, publicly hailed the job done by FBI chief William Webster: "I think Webster has moved the FBI away from politics and toward a focus on real criminal interests," Berman said. "It's a healthy focus."

Such endorsements have made Reagan's efforts to beef up the political police easier. As part of its sharp escalation of the capitalist offensive against the working class, the Reagan administration has systematically moved to restrict democratic rights, to reduce our right to know what the government is up to, and to strip us of protections against criminal acts by the cops.

The Carter policy of strengthening the FBI and CIA by stressing their reform has been replaced by the Reagan policy of openly granting expanded powers to the political police agencies.

### 'Special activities'

One of the changes in the new executive order is the expansion of the power of the secret police to carry out covert activities within the United States.

The Carter version had authorized the secret police to engage in what it delicately called "special activities." These were defined as undercover "activities conducted abroad in support of national foreign policy objectives" of the government. (This is usually called "covert action.")

The Reagan order changes the wording to "activities conducted in support of national foreign policy objectives abroad." By relocating the word "abroad" the territory on which covert action is allowed is thus expanded to in-

clude the United States.

Asked by the *New York Times* for an example of a "special activity," a government official responded with a "hypothetical" example: "the intelligence agencies could use such authority to help secretly persuade an international organization here to raise and act upon an issue of American concern, such as the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan."

In another area, the Carter order had authorized secret infiltration of stool pigeons and provocateurs into organizations in the United States when done by the FBI "in the course of a lawful investigation." (The FBI has never admitted to involvement in anything but a "lawful investigation.")

The Carter version added that such infiltration could not "be undertaken for the purpose of influencing the activity of the organization or its members."

Reagan has simply added here the words, "except in cases where:

"(a) The participation [infiltration, in normal English] is undertaken on behalf of the F.B.I. in the course of a lawful [what else?] investigation; or

"(b) The organization concerned is composed primarily of individuals who are not United States persons and is reasonably believe to be acting on behalf of a foreign power."

This authorizes the very sort of activities at the heart of the notorious FBI Cointelpro operations.

The Carter order had authorized "counterintelligence" activities to be conducted against a variety of targets, especially those engaged in what it called "international terrorist activities . . . conducted for or on behalf of foreign powers, organizations, or persons." It contained a lengthy and broad definition of what it meant by "terrorist activities."

The definition wasn't broad enough for Reagan, however. The new executive order omits any definition of "international terrorist activities."

The term "terrorist activities" has merely become the 1980s replacement for "subversive activities," which was used by an earlier generation of thought-control police. It is a term whose very value to the cops comes from the fact that it is never defined, and never can be defined.

### Could be worse?

The Reagan order omits some of the provisions that had been included in earlier drafts, which had been systematically leaked to the press. With this maneuver, Reagan succeeded in sewing up support from the Democrats, who were,

to be sure, eager to cooperate. Now that their "amendments" are incorporated into the order, they have no big complaints.

One deleted provision would have proclaimed that the President has the "inherent authority" to authorize wiretaps and hidden microphones without a court warrant. Although this assertion is not in the order, it nonetheless remains the position that Justice Department lawyers are arguing in court in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI.

The major victory claimed by the Democrats is the deletion of a provision that would have granted the CIA more authority to penetrate and "influence" American organizations. This function is now primarily restricted to the FBI.

The fake public debate over the proposed order centered on this provision. The "civil liberties" side of the aisle in Congress insisted that the FBI, not the CIA, should be granted this authority. (The CIA, reportedly, agreed.)

Representative Donald Edwards, the California Democrat who heads the House Judiciary Subcommittee on constitutional rights, said, "We are not interested in having the CIA unleashed within the United States."

Why not? Because, said the liberal congressman, "the FBI is doing a good job."

Likewise, ex-Senator Frank Church, who chaired the congressional hearings in 1975 on the crimes of the FBI and CIA, has a similar view. Testifying in Congress last month, Church said, according to the *Washington Post*, that "the FBI was much better equipped [than the CIA] to carry out whatever operations are needed in this country since its agents are attuned to law enforcement."

Even the American Civil Liberties Union, which is critical of the Reagan order, emphasized in its statement that "public outrage over previous drafts of the order leaked to the public, and pressure by a number of senators on the Senate Intelligence Committee, have caused the administration to retreat from many of its most dangerous proposals, including a proposal to permit the CIA to infiltrate and influence the activities of U.S. organizations."

The ACLU statement went so far as to "commend" the Senate Intelligence Committee, whose temporary chairman is Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) for "persuading the administration to abandon most of its more dangerous proposals."

Moynihan, for his part, hailed the Reagan order because it "makes it clear that the mission of the C.I.A. is abroad."

Even if this were true, what good would it do the American people, or people abroad? What the Reagan administration is setting into motion is an expansion of FBI and CIA spying, infiltration, and "special activities" both in the United States and throughout the world.

## Company fires two for socialist ideas

SAN DIEGO — Two members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 1125 are fighting back against victimization by General Dynamics' Convair Division. Both were fired because of their socialist ideas.

The two, Antigua Martinez and Merrill Cohen, are members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Their union has filed grievances against these political firings.

On November 20, Martinez was suspended from work because of a "discrepancy" on her job application. The company claimed that Martinez, 18, lied about her age when applying for work.

Martinez soon supplied a copy of her birth certificate, proving that she is indeed eighteen years old.

The company then demanded she bring in her high school diploma. She did that too.

Finally, the company seized on an error on her green card (a work visa) to drive her from her job. Martinez's green card gives her age as seventeen.

The company demanded that she have

the age on her green card corrected immediately. It is difficult, if not impossible to make the government correct such documents.

On December 4, Convair used this as a pretext to fire Martinez.

Martinez has been the target of a company red-baiting campaign in the plant. The bosses are particularly outraged by her support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

Martinez, a Panamanian citizen of Nicaraguan descent, has visited Nicaragua several times. In 1980, she spent six months there as a participant in the country's massive literacy campaign.

In mid-October, her supervisor began circulating copies of an interview with Martinez, which had appeared in the *San Diego Tribune*. The interview focused on Martinez's support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

The supervisor began to call Martinez "my little terrorist," and suggested to workers that they should not associate with her because she was "violence prone."

Convair fired Cohen on November 11,

accusing her of "breaking company rules" by "falsification of information" on a request for a leave of absence.

Last August, Cohen applied for and was granted a leave of absence for personal reasons.

Nearly three months later, she was called into the plant office repeatedly and grilled by company officials about where she had gone and what she had done. The company claims that an "anonymous caller" told them she lied about the reasons she had requested the leave.

The union business agent filing Cohen's grievance has correctly pointed out that it is none of the company's business what an employee does on a personal leave of absence once it has been granted, and that Cohen is being singled out for harassment.

Martinez and Cohen will be featured speakers at a December 12 rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. The rally will kick off a vigorous campaign to win support for their case in the labor movement, among civil libertarians and activists in the San Diego area.



# IAM files grievance for fired unionist

By Sheila Ostrow

ST. LOUIS — International Association of Machinists Lodge 837B has filed a grievance to win back the job of a socialist worker fired last week by McDonnell Douglas. Harris Freeman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), was fired on November 30.

After nineteen months of employment and a good work record, Freeman was told that his "conduct" on the job made the company suspicious.

The giant aircraft company carried out a special investigation of his background that included sending an investigator to Atlanta to discover a "discrepancy" on his employment application. The company claims this is the reason he was fired.

Freeman, however, says that the real reason for his firing is his membership in the YSA and the SWP. The firing is part of a campaign to drive socialist workers out of McDonnell Douglas.

Freeman is the second SWP member to be fired by McDonnell Douglas in as many weeks. Jim Garrison, a trainee at McDonnell's machine shop was the first.

One day before he was to complete his training and come under the union bargaining agreement, the company dismissed him. Prior to that, his supervisor's reports had called him the best in his training class. No reason was given for his dismissal.

For the last three months, Freeman and two other socialist workers at McDonnell Douglas, Jody Curran and Barry David, have been the targets of a

special political investigation by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon spy agency, and by their employer.

Both the company and the government refuse to provide reasons for this special treatment. IAM lodge 837B has filed a grievance against this political harassment.

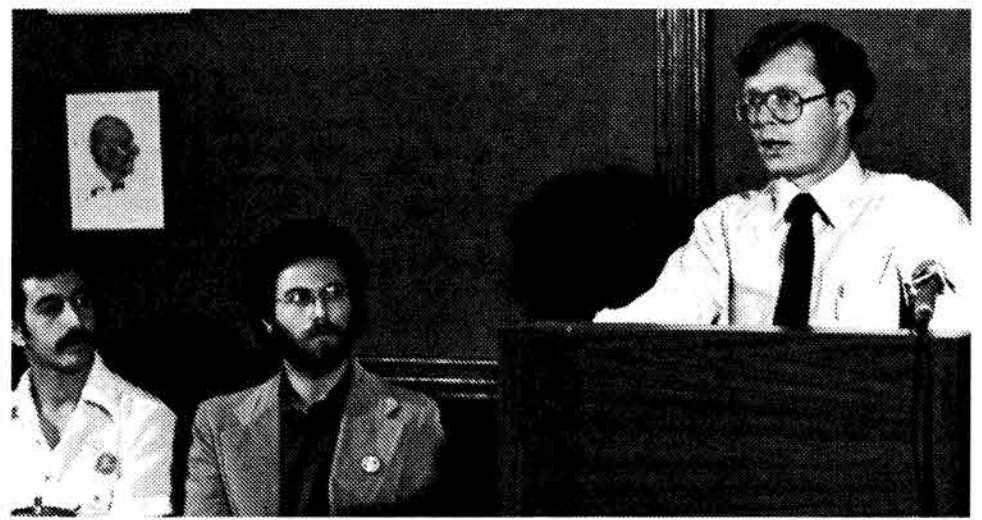
Secret DIS files, just received by Freeman under the Freedom of Information Act, baldly state the reason for the victimizations. An anonymous letter "alleged that these three persons visited Cuba [deleted] and that the three were involved with the SWP."

A second DIS document states that the three were "observed at IAM union meetings," and that Jody Curran appeared on a local TV station urging support for the SWP's and YSA's lawsuit against government spying, harassment, and disruption of the two groups.

At a news conference, Freeman attacked "the audacity of McDonnell Douglas accusing anyone of lying and disloyalty. A company whose normal business practices include bribery, mail fraud, and perjury, has no right to accuse anyone of doctoring their application simply to get a job."

"McDonnell's witch-hunt tactics," he continued, "threaten the rights of all workers to their jobs and political ideas. These actions unveil the company's use of finks to spy on union meetings, intimidate free association, and interfere with political activity guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

Messages of protest against the fir-



Militant/ETTA Ettinger

Workers at McDonnell Douglas launched fight for political rights of employees at war plants when government began investigations. October 12 press conference opening this fight, shown above, included (from left) Barry David, Harris Freeman, both harassed employees; and John Studer of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

ings of Freeman and Garrison, and the ongoing "investigations," should be sent to: Sanford N. McDonnell, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, McDonnell Douglas Corporation,

P.O. Box 516  
St. Louis, Missouri 63166  
Copies should be sent to:  
Political Rights Defense Fund,  
P.O. Box 24229  
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

## Gov't steps up harassment at Newport News shipyard

The following article appeared in the November 18 edition of the 'Journal & Guide,' the leading Black newspaper in Norfolk, Virginia.

By Bill Nachman

NEWPORT NEWS — A pipefitter at Newport News Shipbuilding claims he has been interrogated by federal agents during normal work hours about his political leanings.

In addition, Eli Green maintains that two co-workers, his foreman, and at least one friend have been harassed by government agents trying to learn details about Green's involvement with groups such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Young Socialist Alliance, and the National Black Independent Political Party.

No one in the Newport News Defense Investigative Service (DIS) office inside the Newport News Shipbuilding complex was available for comment to explain the federal agency's alleged actions. Frank Guthrie, special agent in charge of the Norfolk DIS office, who was manning the Newport News DIS desk, said he could not comment on the matter.

Telephone messages left at the DIS parent office in the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. went unanswered.

"Ostensibly this is simply an investigation for a security clearance," the 29-year-old Green said, "but I contend that it is not being conducted in good faith, nor is it for informational purposes only. At the end of September, two of my work mates were called into the DIS office and questioned for two hours about my political views and union activity."

"On October 12, I was called into the DIS office and subjected to a three-hour interrogation. The majority of the questions centered on my membership in the SWP, my political views, and those of my party."

Green said he was not physically abused during the session with DIS personnel.

A shipyard information specialist, Jim Bright, said he had no comment on Green's contentions. He would not comment if Green actually was paid by the punch clock for the time he allegedly was interrogated.

"We have tight security because of our work with the (U.S.) Navy," Bright said.

Green would not identify his foreman nor the two workers he said were called in for questioning. But a friend

who was questioned by the DIS, Susan Stevens of Newport News, appeared with Green at a news conference on Washington Avenue across from the shipyard Thursday, November 12th.

There, Stevens issued a statement claiming that she hung up on a federal agent the first time he called wanting to discuss Green's security clearance to certain areas of the shipyard. Upon Green's suggestion, she spoke to "DIS agent Roberts" when he called later.

Instead of getting information to verify addresses where Green had lived, the agent reportedly asked questions "centered on Green's political ideas and activities. They asked what organizations Green belonged to, and if I thought the Socialist Workers Party is a 'legitimate party,' and if I thought it 'advocates the overthrow of the government by unconstitutional means,'" Stevens said.

Green said he now lives at 140 Ash Ave. in the East End section of Newport News.

Since the DIS questioning, Green said he has not received any supervisory threats.

But Green is unsure why he was singled out. He claims it may be because "this investigation occurs in the context of the Reagan administration's stepped up war preparations, which projects spending over \$1.5 trillion in the next five years. Like many other workers, I oppose this military build-up at the expense of human needs . . ."

The investigation may also be because "the Reagan administration is on a wholesale attack on civil liberties here at home," said Green. "They (federal government) wish to unleash the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) for illegal surveillance and harassment, especially on those active in the labor, black, and women's rights movements."

So far, no legal action is planned by Green, according to Earl Kidd, a representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund. That group is instrumental in other such cases of alleged harassment and employee screening by federal agents.

Kidd said his group will sponsor an awareness rally on Saturday, December 5th at Newport News Holiday Inn on Jefferson Avenue. Details are still being worked out, he said, but it is expected that national SWP representative, André Kahlmorgan, will appear.

For more information call 380-0133.

## Socialist demands justice for victims of killer cops



RASHAAD ALI

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS — It was just one year ago that police officers broke into the homes of four Black people here and murdered them.

All of the officers involved were later completely exonerated.

At a November 14 campaign rally, Rashaad Ali, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New Orleans, and an activist in the fight to bring these cops to justice, demanded that "everyone who was in any way responsible for those killings should spend the rest of their life in jail."

Kalaamu ya Salaam, editor of the *Black Collegian* and also an activist in this struggle, spoke of Mayor Morial and the other Black politicians, "When you have Black people in positions who don't do anything for Black people, they have to go. For those who want a real alternative, support Rashaad Ali's campaign."

The other speakers echoed Salaam's enthusiasm for the socialist campaign.

Sam Green, a building representative for the United Teachers of New Orleans,

explained that in contrast to the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, "Rashaad Ali offers hope for poor working people such as you and I. He proposes a program for working people that has long been neglected in this society."

Glen Munroe, of Gays and Lesbians Against Discrimination, was supporting Ali's campaign because of his call for a labor party.

"You might wonder what a labor party has to do with gay rights, but it's really no mystery. The leaders we have now in the gay community don't think in terms of independent political action."

Also speaking were Derick Bracy from the Young Socialist Alliance, and Cathy Watson, from the New Orleans Nicaraguan Solidarity Organization.

The rally drew teachers, oil refinery workers, machinists, high school students, city employees, members of the National Black Independent Political Party, as well as a number of leaders of a successful union organizing drive at Schots Meat Packing.

The election is in April, 1982.



By Larry Seigle

HAVANA — What is the relationship between the class struggle and the fight for self-determination for oppressed nationalities within the United States today? Does the emergence of Black organizations such as the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) present an obstacle to uniting all working people? What are the current conditions facing the Indian, Latino, and Black communities in the United States?

Discussion and debate on these and related questions were central features of a conference held here November 17-19. The "Seminar on the Situation of the Black, Chicano, Cuban, Indian, and Puerto Rican Communities in the United States" brought together activists and academic figures from all over the United States and from Cuba.

The event was sponsored by two Cuban institutions: Casa de las Américas and the Center for American Studies. The formal proceedings consisted primarily of presentation and discussion of papers by participants. These covered a wide range of cultural, his-

tion made by the government of the United States against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, and other parts of Central America as a threat to world peace and as a shameful expression of arrogance and racist aggression, with the intent of maintaining economic exploitation.

"For this seminar has dramatically demonstrated to us how deep are the ties, how similar the experiences we share as Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians, not only as communities within the United States, but within the entire Western Hemisphere.

"It is, indeed, one struggle."

### Broad participation

Participants from the United States were present not as representatives of organizations, but as individuals. Nonetheless, every effort was made to include people from a broad variety of groups. Among the Black delegates present were Charlene Mitchell of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front; Ron Daniels, cochair of the National

One of the many articles by Lenin that are available in pamphlet form in Cuban bookstores is "Statistics and Sociology," a short article he wrote in January 1917 on oppressed nations within industrialized capitalist countries. This article was referred to by several Cuban participants in the seminar. (The article is included in *Lenin on the United States*, International Publishers.)

In it, Lenin expresses the opinion that Blacks in the United States "should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, pre-monopoly capitalism of 1860-1870 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish-American imperialist war of 1898 (i.e., a war between two robbers over the division of the booty)."

### Concrete approach

The approach of the seminar was to look concretely at the history and evolution of each of the communities represented, including the differences among them.

In his welcoming speech opening the seminar, Mariano Rodríguez, the president of Casa de las Américas, traced the distinct origins of the communities represented:

"First is the Indian native of those lands; then the Blacks, brought from Africa in order to use their slave labor, which was essential for the primitive accumulation of capital; then came the theft of vast territory from Mexico, territory where Mexicans, whose descendants would be known as Chicanos, remained; later still came the colonial absorption of Puerto Rico, occupied as war booty, many of whose inhabitants would have to go to the new metropolis to find work, like so many Latinos.

"All of these communities live under the constant exploitation and cruel discrimination of the oppressor classes of that country.

"Of course, all of this is done under the mantle of so-called participation, in order to create the appearance of democracy they need. But their so-called participation amounts to nothing but being oppressed and being kept on the fringes of society, and often the obligation to serve as soldiers in the aggressive forces that the policeman of international imperialism has spread out all over the world."

### Cuban-American community

One of the most important components of the seminar was the involvement of individuals from the Cuban community in the United States. They concentrated their efforts on analyzing the evolution — economically, socially, and politically — of the Cuban-American population. Cubans on the staffs of the sponsoring organizations also made several very informative presentations on this topic.

The presence at the seminar of Cuban-Americans, and the facts and figures they presented, go a long way toward breaking through the myth, which is unfortunately still strong in the United States, that the Cuban community is a monolithic camp of reaction and counterrevolutionary sentiment.

One poll, taken in the Miami area as far back as 1976, found that a majority of Cuban-Americans under the age of forty favored the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba.

The papers presented to the seminar focused on the fact that Cubans who emigrate to the United States find themselves up against the same racial oppression that all Latinos face. Moreover, like other Latinos, they suffer from the current economic crisis, which is driving down the standard of living of all working people in the United States, and which hits minority communities hardest. This is the brick wall of reality that is shattering the illusions of the "marielitos" — the 125,000 refugees who went to the United States when the Cuban port of Mariel was opened for emigration in 1980.

At the same time, the specific origins of Cuban emigration to the United States in the twenty years since the Cuban revolution give the Cuban-American community features quite distinct from other Latino populations. After 1959, the entire Cuban ruling class, along with its hangers-on, fled the island, carrying with them much of the loot they stole — legally or illegally — from the Cuban people. In addition, the United States government did everything it could to encourage the emigration of technicians and professionals from Cuba, as part of its campaign to sabotage the Cuban economy.

For these reasons, the Cuban community today enjoys a higher per capita income than Chicanos or Puerto Ricans. Nonetheless, the average is still well below that of whites.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was also a huge emigration of Cubans with no capital and no special skills. These were people lured to the United States

# Havana conference on U.S. antiracist fight

## 'Seminar on Black, Chicano, Cuban, Indian, & Puerto Rican communities'



May 25, 1981, demonstration against murders of Black youth in Atlanta. Blacks confront 'systematic and pervasive racism which is an integral part of life in the U.S.'

torical, sociological, and political themes. The discussion was lively and spilled over into informal discussions late into the night.

The seminar was conceived as an opportunity to bring together, for discussion, people from a spectrum of political viewpoints, as well as from the five distinct communities represented. The success of this undertaking was an inspiration to all who attended.

### Solidarity with Cuba

For Cuba, the conference was an act of solidarity with the struggle against racial oppression in the United States, and a contribution to advancing that struggle. Moreover, as with every solidarity action the Cubans take the lead on, the example they set helps to mobilize support for all those who are fighting against Washington's threats and intimidation — including Cuba itself.

As the Cubans well understand, solidarity is a two-way street.

Although the seminar had been planned some time in advance, it attracted added attention in the days immediately preceding it because of the Reagan administration's intensified preparations for military action against the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America.

The presence in Havana at this moment of a number of prominent leaders in the fight against racial oppression in the United States was itself seen as a powerful protest against U.S. moves toward war. It was also a blow to the continuing efforts by Washington to quarantine the Cuban revolution. A number of the U.S. professors who participated in the seminar expressed their determination to fight against the U.S. blockade of Cuba, which restricts historical and scientific exchanges between U.S. and Cuban scholars.

In a unanimously approved final declaration, the participants denounced "the threats of military ac-

tion made by the government of the United States against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, and other parts of Central America as a threat to world peace and as a shameful expression of arrogance and racist aggression, with the intent of maintaining economic exploitation.

A number of leaders of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, made up of young Cubans in the United States, participated, as did several Cuban-American professors. Also participating were members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. A smaller number of delegates came from the Indian and Chicano communities in the United States.

Cubans from the two sponsoring organizations took a very active part in the seminar, presenting papers and participating in the discussions. They were intensely interested in all the points of view expressed.

Among the presentations at the conference were "The American Indian Nation in the United States," by Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz; "Puerto Rico: Emigration, Colonialism, and Anticolonialism," by Felix Ojeda Reyes; "Toward a Framework for Thinking about Racial Domination in the U.S.A. in the 1980s," by Howard Dodson; "The Afro-American Community in the U.S.," by Johnetta Cole; "The Composition of the Chicano Population and the Question of National Identity," by Fred Cervantes; "The Role of Expressive Culture in Maintaining National Identity Among Afro-Americans," by Robert Chrisman; and "The KKK in the United States," by Fannia Davis.

The Cubans' decision to host the seminar is an example of the continued growth of interest in Cuba about U.S. political developments. As the economic crisis in the United States deepens, and as Washington moves closer to military action against the advancing revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, the Cubans are following closely the response within the American working class, the movements of oppressed nationalities, and the left.

There is particular interest among the Cuban revolutionaries in the struggles of oppressed nationalities and national minorities within the United States.





Growing participation of Latinos in labor movement was major topic of discussion at Havana conference. 'Jobs not bombs!' says Spanish-language placard carried on September 19 Solidarity Day march on Washington, D.C.

by the hope of an immediate improvement in their standard of living, and an escape from the constant pressures of the ongoing revolution.

As a result of the different origins of those who moved here, concluded Juan Valdés Paz and Rafael Hernández of the Center for American Studies, there is a "marked economic stratification" of the Cuban community in the United States.

### Myth of 'golden exile'

But for the great majority, as one Cuban-American put it, "the 'golden exile,' as we well know, is a myth." Cuban immigrants, she pointed out, "have played the same historical role as every immigrant group in the United States. That is, they have constituted a source of cheap labor for certain sectors of American industry. Despite the petty-bourgeois position, values, and aspirations that the Cubans brought with them, today, in their great majority, they constitute one more minority in the United States, facing the consequences of an economy in crisis."

One survey of a group of Cubans in the United States found that while less than 13 percent had been "blue collar" workers in Cuba, 74 percent were now working "blue collar" jobs.

A study of a group of Cuban women found that although three-quarters of them had not worked outside the home in Cuba, more than half were now working factory jobs.

These kinds of statistics led participants to speak of the "sudden proletarianization" of a big part of the Cuban-American population, and to stress that "the Cuban population participates in U.S. society mainly as members of the exploited classes and strata."

### Puerto Ricans

Another important discussion at the seminar concerned the Puerto Rican community in the United States. Haroldo Dilla of the Center for American Studies, and Armando Fernández of Casa de las Américas presented a paper analyzing the fight for self-determination of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The two authors looked at the connections between the Puerto Rican struggle in the United States and the fight for independence for Puerto Rico. This paper took up the issues in the continuing discussion within the Puerto Rican movement over the extent to which Puerto Ricans in the United States have developed their own distinct national identity, as opposed to remaining part of one nation with those Puerto Ricans who remain on the island.

In past years, Puerto Rican groups in the United States have debated this subject. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has in the past held the view that there is only one Puerto Rican people, and that the primary orientation of the movement ought to be to struggle for Puerto Rican independence. This position tended to minimize the economic and political role of Puerto Ricans in the United States as part of the U.S. working class.

Some other groups, including some Maoist organizations, have argued that a new and distinct national grouping has already emerged on U.S. soil. This position basically excluded the possibility that masses of people will choose to return to Puerto Rico, even if independence is won.

In their presentation, Dilla and Fernández pointed out that this discussion has, in the past, tended to begin with political conclusions, and then proceeds to justify those conclusions by developing an analysis to fit. They emphasized the importance of beginning with the concrete conditions facing the Puerto Rican people.

They stressed that the bulk of Puerto Rican migration to the United States began just over a generation ago. The continued status of Puerto Rico as a U.S. colony has the effect of slowing down the development of

a distinct Puerto Rican nationality in the United States. There is continued migration from the island, and some movement back the other way. As a result, many immigrants retain close political, social, family, and cultural ties to the island.

At the same time, the tendency over time is for the new generation, born and raised in the United States, to see themselves less as part of one nation with those who remain on the island.

The fact that Puerto Ricans in the United States occupy the bottom rung of the economic ladder and are the "last hired and first fired," the authors argued, does not mean that those who live in the United States are not increasingly part of the American working class. They placed special emphasis on the growing participation of Puerto Ricans in U.S. politics — though not in capitalist electoral politics — and in the labor movement.

Nonetheless, they believe that so long as such a big part of the Puerto Rican community in the United States remains linked in so many ways to the colonial nation of Puerto Rico, it would be premature to act on the basis of a conclusion that the community "as a whole" has been forged into a distinct nationality.

### Black nationalism

Some of the liveliest discussion came in the sessions on the situation facing the Black community. This was a reflection of the success the organizers had in involving in the seminar individuals from different experiences and different points of view within the Black liberation movement.

Among the discussions that took place was whether Black nationalist consciousness is progressive, or whether it is a barrier to working-class unity in the fight against capitalism.

Although the seminar itself did not take up the positions of particular organizations, there was interest among the participants in the perspectives of nationalist groups such as the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). A lot of informal discussion took place.

In a paper presented to the conference, NBIPP leader Ron Daniels presented a defense of Black nationalism as a progressive response to the "all embracing, all encompassing, systematic and pervasive racism which has become and is an integral part of the very fabric of the socio-cultural, political and economic life in the U.S."

He traced the history of Blacks in America from the days of chattel slavery to the present. He forcefully explained that "the reality of the continued domination of the African-American in the U.S. after eman-

cipation meant, of course, being subjugated in cultural terms to what can only be termed a racist, white, Euro-American culture."

He added that "there is also no question but that capitalism was and continues to be the material basis for racism."

He pointed out that some who are not familiar with the concrete reality of the conditions Blacks face in the United States have criticized the Black movement for "pre-occupation with 'nationalism' and an obsession with 'racism' and the 'race question.'"

But, he said, "It is not possible to understand the African-American 'obsession' with race and racism without grasping this peculiarity of the specific conditions under which African-Americans suffer and struggle in the U.S."

Daniels, Rev. Daughtry of the Black United Front, and other speakers defended this perspective. They pointed out that Blacks organizing as Blacks to defend their interests and fight against racism can lay the basis for uniting all working people.

Several participants emphasized the fact that developments such as the formation of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists within the labor movement have strengthened the workers movement as a whole, by helping to force union official leaderships to take progressive stands on such questions as affirmative action and school desegregation.

United action by the working class is possible only on the basis of a consistent fight to defend the interests of the most oppressed sections of the class.

### New Black organization

The National Black Independent Political Party is a new organization in the United States, just a year old. Its charter was adopted only in August of this year. As a result, especially for the Cuban participants in the seminar, the NBIPP was a new idea, one they are interested in learning more about.

The emergence of the NBIPP represents an important step forward for the Black community, and for the working class as a whole, in the United States.

In its charter, the NBIPP declares that it "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

The decision of this new formation to organize in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans shows the way forward for the entire U.S. working class: to break from capitalist politics, and end support to the political parties of big business. The example of the NBIPP points in the direction of independent political action by the U.S. labor movement as a whole.

### Unique conference

Everyone who participated in the three-day seminar was impressed by the seriousness of the discussions and the value of the presentations. The seminar was made all the more useful by the free flow of the discussion.

Plans are already under way in Cuba to publish the complete proceedings of the seminar, including all the papers presented. The conference participants also have decided to try to make as much of the material as possible available in the United States. Hopefully, the resources will be found to carry through this project in the near future.

The seminar also served the function of winning new support for the Cuban revolution inside the United States. It was the first trip to Cuba for many of the participants.

The fact that it was socialist Cuba that took the initiative and made the facilities available for this conference, the first of its kind anywhere, was a point lost on no one.

## For Further Reading

### Lenin on the United States

674 pp. \$3.65

### Politics of Chicano Liberation

By Olga Rodríguez, 160 pp. \$3.95

### Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

By Catarino Garza 62 pp. \$2.25

### Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

By José Pérez 24 pp. \$.35

### The National Black Independent Political Party (Education for Socialists Bulletin)

32 pp. \$1.25

### Trotsky on Black Nationalism

96 pp. \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.





## Forty nations represented

# Conference declares solidarity with Grenada

By Pat Kane

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — "This conference has injected our people with a new confidence, a new sense of courage, a much deeper understanding of what our own revolution is all about. It has shown us why we are united in this anti-imperialist struggle, why we are united to end poverty, oppression, and exploitation."

This is how Maurice Bishop, revolutionary Grenada's prime minister, described the impact here of the first International Conference in Solidarity With Grenada, held November 23-25. The conference was a huge success, with eighty-five delegations in attendance representing forty countries.

The conference was called to answer the massive U.S. propaganda campaign aimed at isolating the Grenada revolution. It was an opportunity to show delegates the achievements of this revolution.

### U.S. lies

The U.S. slander machine has regularly attacked Grenada. The latest lie comes from the Council for Inter-American Security, a right-wing think tank with close ties to the Reagan administration. The November issue of its journal, *West Watch*, claimed that "the Grenadian government is holding 7,000 political prisoners in work farms, similar to the ones in Cuba."

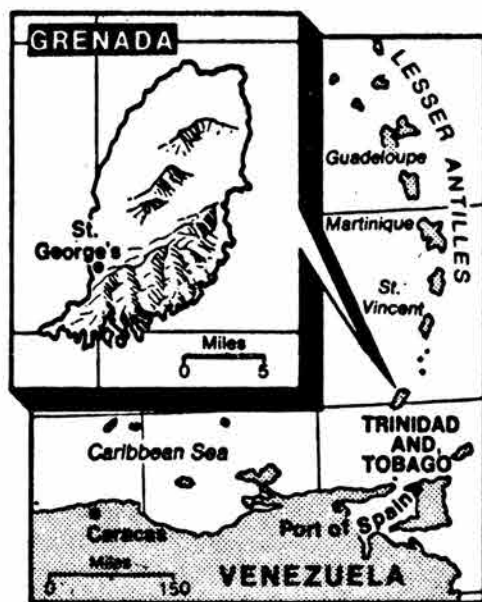
Grenada's population is only 110,000; one would think someone here would miss 7,000 people and complain! Delegates to the solidarity conference were shown all over Grenada. But they could not tour the "work farms," because they do not exist.

Last month, newspapers throughout the region carried identical editorials attacking the revolutionary government. The White House has sponsored counterrevolutionary conferences for the region's politicians, editors, and generals.

The large solidarity conference was a fitting reply to the imperialist campaign.

The delegates' list read like a roll of honor of the world's most determined fighters against imperialism. Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, Namibia, and Vietnam were all represented. Political parties and trade unions from throughout the East Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America attended. A wide range of Black organizations were here from the United States. Two delegates even traveled all the way from Mongolia.

Commenting on the international character of the conference, Bishop stat-



Intercontinental Press/Ernest Harsch  
SELWYN STRACHAN

ed in his opening speech: "We have always scrupulously avoided viewing our struggle, our revolutionary process, from a narrow nationalist perspective. We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggle of oppressed mankind everywhere, is one and indivisible. Thus, this International Solidarity Conference holds grave importance as it bears testimony to our commitment to the noble concept of internationalism."

Delegates heard reports from the various ministries of the revolutionary government. Selwyn Strachan, minister of national mobilization, whose staff had organized the conference, outlined the revolutionary democracy in Grenada. Strachan pointed out that Grenada is the only government in the eastern Caribbean with a ministry such as the one he heads.

### War on exploitation

Strachan said that Grenada is engaged in "a war against corruption, against arrogance, against the exploitation of our people, against the old colonial and neocolonial bureaucratic ugliness, a war against patronage and mismanagement, against fraud and authoritarianism, a war to blast all these old deformities that our people have inherited into the debris of history, in order to win the victory of completing a democratic transformation of all the processes of our country in their totality. And for this, comrades, we are mobilizing our people for revolutionary democracy. This is our war, and this is why as a people, as a nation, we must mobilize and democratize all our institutions, as

well as create new organs through which our new, effervescent, democratic blood can freely flow."

### Mass organizations

These new organizations include Parish Councils, where local people attend to hear about and decide on all aspects of the revolution. They include new trade unions, like the agricultural union that has recruited more than 2,000 members since the revolution.

Youth and women have been organized. Both the National Women's Organization (NWO) and the National Youth Organization (NYO) have had a spectacular growth over the last year. The NWO aimed for 5,000 members by December. They have recruited 6,467. The NYO's target was 7,000 by their first congress in December, and they have already reached 7,288.

Everywhere, young and old alike are joining the militia to defend the revolution against possible imperialist invasion.

All these organizations are mass organizations. They are vehicles through which the people exercise control over their leaders and the institutions of the state. They represent a militant, conscious, and organized people.

Selwyn Strachan challenged critics of the revolution who demand that "elections" be held in Grenada. He said they should come to Grenada, where they would quickly see that there are more elections here in a week than in any five years in the United States or Britain.

Every ministry pointed out the achievements of this revolution. They explained how the U.S. government has

tried to sabotage financing for their new international airport. They proved that in two years the revolution had done more to improve the economy and infrastructure of the island than had been done in 400 years of colonialism. It took the revolution to put a halt to the importation from Canada of the bulk of fish eaten here — in an island surrounded by fish.

The conference was a festival of internationalism. The affairs of the conference were followed by the mass of the people. At a huge rally on November 22 to commemorate Grenada's Bloody Sunday, when six members of the present government were badly beaten in 1973, the delegates were introduced to the island's militant and fighting people.

The loudest cheers were for revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam, and for the freedom fighters of Africa. Any attacks on those countries would be viewed by the people of Grenada as attacks on themselves. In a country struggling against poverty, they have managed to donate £30,000 (\$56,400) to the South West African People's Organization of Namibia.

### Solidarity needed

Aid for Grenada is vital. From Britain, the Labor Party, the engineering union, sheetmetal workers unions, and the journalists union all sent telegrams of support.

Members of the San Francisco U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society brought to Grenada a complete office system, including a duplicator, an electrostencil machine, and a month's supply of paper and ink, as well as fifty nurses' uniforms. They managed to get it all on the plane as part of their luggage. The San Francisco society has donated thousands of dollars to Grenada, as well as two minicomputer systems.

Such practical solidarity is what the people of Grenada need. Everything from school supplies to photographic equipment is needed. Just about everything one could imagine is in short supply.

Maurice Bishop closed the conference by saying that "the people of North America and of Europe are not our enemies, the majority of those people are our friends. Our enemies are the fascists, our enemy is imperialism. . . ."

"You have reminded us that our struggle is by no means unique in the history of mankind. Our path is one that many have walked before."

The Grenada revolution is indeed striding forward. Only a direct military intervention by imperialism can stop it.

On the militia marches and popular demonstrations the Grenadians sing:

"Oh when they come, oh when they come,  
"Oh when those Yankee soldiers come,  
"We're going to bury them in the sea!"

From Intercontinental Press

## Grenada: 'more democratic'

Welcoming delegates to the December 2 opening of the Organization of American States General Assembly, held in St. Lucia, the chairman of that body had some sharp words for U.S. policy in the Caribbean.

"Let us not have traded our independence for any aspect of neocolonialism," warned Peter Josie, who is also St. Lucia's foreign minister.

"We will not be deterred by recriminations from any quarter nor shall we accept unsolicited advice on how we ought to conduct our foreign policy."

Meeting with reporters on the eve of the session, Josie said he would block any U.S. attempt to introduce the charge of Nicaraguan or Cuban "interventionism" into the assembly.

Josie also indicated he did not see eye to eye with Washington on the matter of Grenada, which he called "more democratic than many other nations in the Caribbean."

## Miami: Haitians protest as rulers confer

MIAMI — On November 29 a spirited and determined protest of 350 people, mostly Haitians, greeted participants at the fifth annual Miami Conference on the Caribbean. This conference, held at the luxurious Semester Hotel in Key Biscayne, is sponsored by the Caribbean Central America Action Group with the cooperation of the United States State Department. It has become a major meeting ground for the wealthy and the rightist rulers from Central America and the Caribbean.

The Caribbean Central America Action Group is chaired by Florida Governor Bob Graham. Graham has recently traveled to Haiti to meet with officials of the Duvalier regime, supposedly to develop plans to ease the flow of refugees from that country.

Graham's major proposal is to encourage more U.S. companies to move to Haiti to take advantage of the "docile

and willing workforce" and the low wages.

U.S. trade representative William Brock was on hand to deliver a major policy speech for the Reagan administration. He promised to encourage further U.S. corporate investment in the countries represented at the conference to make changes in trade restrictions to permit these corporations to export their products more cheaply.

Eight heads of government attended, including José Napoleon Duarte, president of the bloody military regime of El Salvador and Prime Minister Edward Seaga, the new prime minister of Jamaica. Representatives of the Duvalier dictatorship of Haiti were also present.

In response to this gathering, the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association, Friends of Haitian Refugees, and KOMBIT LIBETE, a Miami-

based Haitian group, called for the protest on November 29.

After a car caravan from the city of Miami, protesters lined the plush sidewalks of Crandon Boulevard with placards and banners and greeted the arriving dignitaries with chants in English, Spanish, and Creole. These included, "Duvalier Asesino, Duarte Asesino"; "Haiti Yes, Duvalier No"; "El Salvador Yes, Duarte No"; "Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. Out of El Salvador"; "Political asylum for Haitian refugees"; "No U.S. intervention in the Caribbean"; and "Remove the U.S.S. Hamilton from Haitian waters."

On December 2 leaders of New York's refugees and officials of the NAACP announced a march on Washington, D.C., December 12 to protest the Reagan administration's treatment of the 2,700 Haitian refugees being held in nine detention centers around the country.



# 'Grenada is not alone'

## Speech by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

The following speech was given by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the opening of the First International Conference of Solidarity with the Grenada Revolution on November 3.

Comrades, in the name of our party, the New Jewel Movement, in the name of the People's Revolutionary Government, and in the name of the people, the workers, the youth, the women, and the farmers of free and revolutionary Grenada, I join comrades in extending to you, our fraternal and esteemed guests from all continents of the globe, a most warm and cordial welcome. We are extremely happy to host you here on our soil, and we pledge to ensure that your stay here is both productive and enjoyable.

The importance of this historic Conference on International Solidarity with Grenada cannot be overstated. In the first place this conference manifests our continuing strict adherence to international principles. We have always scrupulously avoided viewing our struggle, our revolutionary process, from a narrow nationalist perspective. We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggles of oppressed mankind everywhere, is one and indivisible. Thus, this international solidarity conference holds grave importance as it bears testimony to our commitment to the noble concept of internationalism.

This conference derives additional importance from the fact that your presence here will indicate to imperialism in a clear and forward way that Grenada is not alone. It will tell the imperialists in the boldest terms that their schemes, their machinations, their maneuvers to isolate the Grenada revolution have all failed miserably — as the Grenada revolution enjoys broad popular support, not only at the national level, but also internationally.

Thirdly, for us this solidarity conference is a momentous occasion, as we understand very clearly that the force and weight of international public opinion cannot be dismissed and constitutes indeed a significant factor in the struggles of the people.

Comrades, March 13, 1979, was a bright new dawn for the people of Grenada and the working people of the Caribbean. That dawn marked the end of the long, dark night of terror and the beginning of a new day. Our heroic people — the anti-Gairy masses — rose to the challenge of history and, in the words of the Caribbean poet, Edward Brathwaite — "shattered the door and entered that morning, fully aware of the future to come, there's no turning back." As it has been said so often before, when a conscious, determined people rises as a united body and cries "enough," injustice, tyranny, and exploitation are doomed . . . and thus begins a new and glorious chapter in the history of man: the construction of a just and equal society by the poor, for the poor, and with the poor. The people's struggle through time for the realization of that dream is the long march of history. From the very inception of our party, the New Jewel Movement, we have been guided by the clear understanding that the struggle against the dictatorship was not an end in itself but a necessary precondition for the infinitely larger struggle of building that new and just society.

Building the new society involves a long and difficult process of national reconstruction. Twenty-five years of Gairyism had devastated the social and economic fabric of our society. It had destroyed our country's international standing — Grenada was reduced to the laughingstock of the international community, land of a tin-pot dictator lost in extraterrestrial dreams, [laughter] preoccupied with UFO's, obsessed with his divinity, but brutal and ruthless in the exercise of power. Fifty percent of the labor force of our country was unemployed. Our infrastructure was totally dilapidated. Our tourist industry was one which brought little benefit to the country. Despite our fertile soil, and with Gairy's political interference in the development of agriculture, the production of our main export crops had stagnated. Food crop production had declined, and our food import bill was approximately 40 percent of total imports. Due to the dependent status of our economy and with a combination of ineffective price controls and monopoly profiteering by merchants, inflation rates were very high. Financial mismanagement over many years had reached staggering proportions, and left the national treasury in debt to local commercial banks and in considerable arrears to local, regional, and international agencies.

Our people's revolution was therefore faced with the difficult twin task of economic reconstruction and democratization of the society.



From left: Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega, Maurice Bishop, Fidel Castro

**'We have always scrupulously avoided viewing our struggle, our revolutionary process, from a narrow nationalist perspective. We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggles of oppressed mankind everywhere, is one and indivisible. This International Solidarity Conference bears testimony to our commitment to the noble concept of internationalism.'**

Our fundamental objective has always been, as detailed in the 1973 manifesto of our party, the construction of a new life and new society. In June 1974 we issued a ten-point Statement of Principles. This document reads:

"We stand for:

- "(1) People's participation, people's politics, people's democracy
- "(2) People's cooperatives for the collective development of the people
- "(3) Health care based on need
- "(4) Full development of the people's talents, abilities, and culture
- "(5) Full control, as a people, of our national resources
- "(6) Employment for all
- "(7) A decent standard of living for every family
- "(8) Freedom of expression and religion
- "(9) The liberation of Black and oppressed people throughout the world
- "(10) A united people . . . a new society . . . a just society"

These principles and objectives were as valid at the dawn of our revolution as they were five years before when they were formulated, and as they are today — almost three years after that first morning of our revolution. Already we have begun to implement these aims, although in addition there were certain initial priorities that we set ourselves upon taking power, based on an assessment of the most pressing needs of the people — jobs for the thousands of unemployed, health care, the improvement of the agricultural infrastructure, mass education, and above all, the process which would facilitate all other developments, the democratization of the society. Yet our progress has been hampered by certain objective difficulties which have prevented us from moving as rapidly as we would wish towards the attainment of our goals.

Like our sister Caribbean islands, we continue to be plagued by natural disasters. Each year since the revolution, hurricanes, high winds, or torrential rains have caused considerable damage to our agriculture and infrastructure. In 1979 we suffered US\$6 million worth of damage — in 1980, the total destruction of 27 percent of our nutmeg crop, 40 percent of the banana and 19 percent of the cocoa, amounting to some US\$20 million. In 1981, damage to crops, roads, and bridges totaled US\$5 million.

With an open, dependent, economy tied to the economies of the capitalist world, we have suffered and are suffering from the ongoing economic crisis in the

capitalist world. Demand for our principal commodity exports has dropped. World market prices for nutmegs, cocoa, and bananas, which account for 97 percent of visible exports earnings, fell by 22 percent in 1980 over 1979. To compound a difficult economic situation, tourism (our second most important industry) declined by 8.8 percent in 1980. This problem which is also experienced by our Caribbean neighbors led to reduction in foreign exchange earnings, employment, income generation, and some stagnation in economic activity. The decline in stay-over visits to Grenada fell not only because of the worldwide economic recession but also because of active propaganda destabilization by U.S. imperialism. This year, our tourist industry, poised for recovery with full house bookings at all the main hotels, was dealt a major blow with the sudden destruction by fire of undetermined origin of a substantial part of our largest hotel — the Holiday Inn. Revenue losses such as these serve to aggravate an already unfair, unjust and unequal balance of trade. Although the total volume of Grenada's imports remained constant, the total cost of these imports between 1979 and 1980 rose from US\$50 million due largely to steep increases in freight rates and fuel as well as imported inflation from the western industrial countries.

Another economic difficulty facing us at this moment is the U.S. economic squeeze. U.S. imperialism has embarked on a coordinated campaign of economic strangulation of our country designed to deprive us of access to financial resources from the bilateral, regional, and international sources.

These unprincipled tactics include attempted sabotage of an EEC-sponsored, co-financing conference to raise US\$30 million desperately needed to ensure completion of our international airport. The determination of U.S. imperialism to squash this process is evident in its vulgar and direct interference on the executive board of the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank to block loans required for vital capital investment and public investment. At the insistence of the U.S., Grenada was recently excluded from receiving financial assistance from the Windward Islands Banana Growers Association from funds provided by USAID for banana rehabilitation.

Confronted with the belligerence of U.S. imperialism, and having the vicious legacy of twenty-five years of "Hurricane Gairy" to recover from, how has our revolution responded to the urgent tasks of national reconstruction?

*Continued on next page*



**'The revolution has also taken several steps to stimulate and make possible the participation of women in the development of our nation. There can be no talk of real democracy if half of a nation's population is either disqualified from participation or can only participate in a very limited sense. And there can be no talk of women's participation if the conditions for this participation do not exist.'**

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In agriculture — the pillar of our economy — our main policy and tactic has been one of diversification. Diversification of agricultural export production to increase the range of agricultural commodities which can earn foreign exchange; diversification of agricultural export markets with the objective of penetrating new markets and lessening our dependence on any one buyer; diversification and expansion of domestic agricultural production for import substitution, as a basis for agro-industrial development, and the linking of the domestic agricultural sector with the tourist sector. Since the revolution, fifty times more money has been allocated in the national budget for agricultural development. In the building of the new tourism, we have also been diversifying our tourist markets through increased promotion in Western Europe, the Caribbean and Latin American markets, while nonetheless attempting to maintain and indeed to achieve diversification in our traditional North American market.

With a 50 percent increase in our energy costs, energy conservation measures have been put into effect, resulting in a decrease in consumption by private motorists but a 20 percent increase in state consumption (mainly in the operation of equipment) on account of increased developmental activity. Several major infrastructural improvements have been undertaken: a new international airport, highway development of the east coast, the construction and opening up of sixty-seven miles of agricultural feeder roads, improvement of electricity services, vastly increased water supply, major expansion of telephone service, forestry development, and conservation. These efforts at national reconstruction and towards the solution of the main difficulties faced by our economy are the consistent and creative application of the basic program of our party as we set out in our 1973 Manifesto for People's Power and the achievement of genuine national independence. This document states — and I quote:

"NJM has always stood for *real* independence, *genuine* independence, *meaningful* independence. At our People's Convention on Independence on May 6, 1973, at Seamount, where 10,000 of our supporters were present, our two major speeches were called "Meaningful vs. Meaningless Independence" and "New Directions for Genuine Independence." This manifesto of ours sketches the things we must do as a people under new leadership to achieve *real* independence. For we believe independence must mean better housing for our people, better clothing, better food, better health, better education . . . more jobs . . . in short, a higher standard of living for workers and their children."

The seizure of state power on March 13, 1979, by the people, led by its vanguard party, the NJM, has opened up revolutionary possibilities for the implementation of that program. [applause]

The revolution, with the active participation of our people, has brought concrete benefits to our working people. Unemployment has been reduced from 50 percent of the working population to less than 30 percent by the expansion of the cooperative and state sectors. The people's budget has removed the burden of income tax from the backs of the 30 percent of the lowest paid workers. Financial assistance to the tune of \$4 million has been provided to the poorest sectors of the population for house repair, and a Ministry of Housing with responsibility for a national housing program has been created. Conditions of life in the villages are being progressively improved by the construction of community centers, bath and laundry facilities and post offices by the voluntary labor of our people in their community work brigades.

In education the revolution has made important



March 1980 celebration of first anniversary of Grenada revolution

gains: the establishment of a national literacy and adult education program, the Center for Popular Education, the institution of free secondary education, a 300 percent increase in the number of university level scholarships, the creation of a national in-service teacher training program for the professionalization of all our primary school teachers. The revolution has placed emphasis on the expansion of educational opportunity because our party has always recognized the fundamental link between education, the process of national development, and the construction of a participatory democracy. [applause]

As in the vital areas of housing, jobs, and education, the revolution has brought concrete benefits to the masses in the field of health. A national milk distribution program has distributed 1,100 tons of milk to the elderly, to our youth, and to expectant mothers since 1979. Free health care made possible by increases in medical personnel and the expansion of services particularly in the rural areas has transformed the pattern of health.

The transformation of the national economy, begun since the people's revolution, has been guided by the same basic conception of an economy at the service of the working people and freed from external domination and control which we proposed since 1973. It is worthy of note that the vast majority of the new programs and bold initiatives embarked upon by the revolution are not bright ideas spontaneously conceived in some moment of inspiration, but the product of collective discussion and analysis within our party and among the broad section of our people, of needs, problems, and long term goals.

On the economic front, new institutions and new programs all aimed at the strengthening of the national economy and the laying down of a sound material basis for future development are being built. The Grenada Farms Corporation — a state enterprise — has been established to coordinate the operations of all government farms. These farms, scandalously mismanaged and their produce shamelessly misappropriated during the Gairy era, are now the centers of a new thrust forward for our agriculture. More important, agricultural workers — the producers of the green gold of our country — on these state farms are learning self-management, and more and more are taking on the responsibility for increasing production. On these farms the arithmetic of exploitation has been replaced with a new language of workers' participation in the establishment of production targets, profit sharing, and the teaching of the real history of struggle of our working people. [applause]

The establishment of an agro-industrial plant now makes it possible for us to make full use of local crops which in the past were never fully utilized. Mangoes, tamarinds, soursops, guavas, to name a few, are now valuable cash crops because of the demand produced by this agro-industrial plant. Spice Island Products now embrace a proud range of juices, jams, and canned local fruit and vegetables.

Likewise, the Marketing and National Importing Board has reduced the high cost of living and broken the backs of the monopolists in sugar, rice, and cement. This body now has the responsibility to import

specified commodities from the cheapest sources and ensure internal distribution at much cheaper prices than obtained previously. Like the Grenada Farms Corporation, the Grenada Resort Corporation was set up to manage government hotels and other tourism enterprises, and has been achieving modest successes!

At the same time, the organization of a national fishing fleet, the establishment of a fishing school and a fish processing plant are all together serving to build an integrated and sound fishing industry.

Other critical measures and economic programs set up include:

- A coffee processing plant to process local coffee for domestic consumption and export.
- Construction of three bio-gas plants and the carrying out of detailed studies of our hydro-power, hydro-carbon, and geothermal potential as a possible means of alternative energy.
- The introduction of scientifically evaluated systems of work planning in government departments and ministries to ensure productive use of government finances and as a basis for budgetary allocations.
- The setting up of a people's bank — the National Commercial Bank — which after just two years is already the second largest bank in Grenada.

All of these, comrades, represent some of the initiatives taken in our attempt to place our national economy on a sound footing. We have always given priority to this task because it is a strong national economy that will guarantee the social and material well-being of our people. We have a slogan, comrades, by which the masses understand quite simply this logic, "You can only take out what you put in." [applause]

But more important, comrades, more significant than all the other achievements of the Grenada revolution, because it is the means whereby we achieve all other benefits and will move to achieve even more social and economic benefits as this process unfolds, is the outstanding success of the Grenada revolution in the task of the democratization of our society.

One of the earliest acts of the revolution was the repeal of all anti-worker laws and the enactment of democratic, progressive labor laws such as the Trade Union Recognition Act which guarantees the right of workers to form and participate in trade unions of their choice. As a result, there are nearly 10,000 workers organized in trade unions today and most of these unions are developing programs of democratic participation and education for their members.

The revolution has also taken several steps to stimulate and make possible the participation of women in the development of our nation. There can be no talk of real democracy if *half* of a nation's population is either disqualified from participation or can only participate in a very limited sense. And there can be no talk of women's participation if the conditions for this participation do not exist. Our sisters cannot participate fully unless the society encourages their participation. And in Grenada, in barely two-and-a-half years of revolution, we have a proud record of meas-





Militant Jerry Hunnicutt

ures taken to bring the women of our country fully into the development process.

Consistent with our slogan, "Idle Lands and Idle Hands — An End To Unemployment," in the year two of the revolution we moved to set up a National Land Reform Commission, with terms of reference to identify existing idle lands, (unemployed youth willing to work such lands co-operatively) and make recommendations for their productive use. In like manner the preparation of our national budget has since the revolution involved the participation of trade union representatives; and this year the process of deciding how our resources will be used for our national development will involve an even wider participation. This year the budget discussion is being taken to the people — our national budget will be debated and shaped not by a handful of men sitting in an exclusive "Parliament," but by our organized people in their thousands, in their community groups, their zone councils, their parish councils.

And the mention of these structures, comrades, brings us to the fact of the spectacular growth of mass organizations in our country in the two-and-a-half years of the revolution. Our National Youth Organization, National Women's Organization, both founded by the New Jewel Movement, and our NJM Young Pioneers are mobilizing increasing numbers of our youth, our women, and our children. The youth organization (NYO) is close to a target for this year of organizing one third of the country's young people. Our sisters in the NWO have passed the 6,000 mark and are fast approaching their target of 7,000 (or nearly one third of the women of the country) organized for action, participation and community development.

The revolution has fostered the formation of student councils in every secondary school, linked into the National Students' Council.

In the villages you will find community work brigades, which, in fact, determine priority needs and spearhead work on community building, cleaning and maintenance projects.

Three weeks ago the Productive Farmers Union, one of the most unique organizations that the revolution has produced, held its first annual general meeting with its full membership of just over 1,000 small and medium farmers in militant attendance.

In addition to the many organizations and action groups operating at community, parish, and national level, our people meet regularly with the leadership of the country in parish and zonal councils and in workers' parish councils where the twin principles of the *accountability* and *responsibility* of the leadership to the people become a reality for the first time in the English-speaking Caribbean. The leadership is accountable because in its face-to-face meetings with the people it must report on the achievements and the difficulties of particular ministries and state bodies, it must answer the questions of the people on those issues which affect their lives. The leadership is responsible to the people because it must take action where the people indicate that action is required.

In Grenada the people do not only listen passively to their leaders, they talk back. They do not only

glimpse their so-called "representatives" now and then in the press, they meet them regularly, they rub shoulders with them. In Grenada, structures have grown up and are developing daily to ensure the real participation of people, a continuous, day-by-day process, not a seasonal exercise which changes nothing. Our democratic process is our strongest weapon for change, for development, for the improvement of life in our country. [applause]

There are many reasons why your solidarity with Grenada is important. There are many reasons why you must not only *feel* solidarity with the Grenada revolution but you must also *express* this solidarity loud and clear.

First of all, our revolution is an attempt to build a new socioeconomic development model. It is an attempt to solve our problems by new methods. It is the boldest attempt, in the history of the English-speaking Caribbean, to tackle the dire problems of underdevelopment which so drastically affect the lives of the mass of people in our region, the problem of poverty, illiteracy and poor education, sub-standard nutrition, unemployment, and all the other evils. It is an approach which rejects some of the manifestly inadequate strategies which the ruling class in most of our sister islands are still clinging to, because these strategies are guaranteed to safeguard their own position and to yield nothing but the barest minimum of political power and material benefits to the majority of the people.

Therefore, comrades, when you show your support for our revolution, you are asserting with us the right of a small and poor, but courageous and determined people, to build their own process, to solve their problems in their own way, without threatening the sovereignty of any other people, nor compromising with their own proud and unshakable principles.

Our people, led by our party the NJM, are demanding the right to build this new society *in peace*. We desire peace. We know that peace is a precondition for the realization of the people's wish for a better and more just existence. But this wish for peace, this insistence on our right to self-determination is being denied us. Daily we are threatened by the aggressiveness and the hostility of a power thousands of times our size, thousands of times richer in resources than us. Daily our process is the object of threats both veiled and undisguised, coming from the mighty United States and its string of yardboys and yardgirls in the region. Once again, comrades, we assert that we are the masters of our own house, we stand upright, with dignity, ready to defend this land, this sea, this region.

We need your solidarity, comrades, because this revolution is increasingly a light, a beacon of hope to the poor and exploited masses of the Caribbean. The aims, objectives, and achievements of this revolution are a crystallization of the most profound human aspirations of Caribbean people towards a better life. For 400 years the exploited masses of the region have

struggled with dignity for bread, jobs, justice, and peace. Today in Grenada, today in free and revolutionary Grenada, this struggle at last is beginning to bear fruit. And this fruit is not for us alone. It is not the property of ourselves alone. Just as our struggle has been a part of the broader struggle of the working people of the Caribbean and the world, so now, our revolution is an integral part of the forward movement of working people regionally and internationally.

We need your solidarity, comrades, because we are conscious of these responsibilities not only to ourselves but to oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere. That is why in every forum, at every opportunity, we have resolutely condemned apartheid, zionism, and racism, we have unwaveringly accused and unmasked imperialism, and we have added our voice to the condemnation of exploitation, injustice, and inhumanity in all its forms and manifestations. You shall find us marching in your ranks, our voice shall not be stilled. [prolonged applause]

And this important role of the Grenada revolution is clearly recognized by the working people of the region. For whatever the volume and bitterness of the attacks made upon us by the decrepit leadership of the region and its decadent press, however often the voice of Washington is mindlessly echoed by its agents in the region, the real people have again and again demonstrated their confidence in, and support for, this process which they see as theirs, too. Behind the smokescreen of misinformation they somehow perceive the real issues, that this revolution is a unique process in which new benefits are being brought to the people, and a popular process in which the people participate more and more each day.

The Caribbean people refuse to be misinformed about our process. The Caribbean people understand the undemocratic and antiworker position of the regional press. This is borne out by the survey recently conducted by the *Jamaican Daily Gleaner*, itself a tool of international reaction, a survey which revealed that the majority of people are not affected by the negative propaganda put out against our revolution.

There is also the recent example of the strong protest made by workers of the *Trinidad Express* and other workers in the media in Trinidad (another regional rag in the service of U.S. imperialism). These workers came out in protest against what they correctly identified as a vulgar concerted anti-Grenada press campaign, they came out and demanded the right of the Caribbean people to undistorted information about a sister island.

There is the evidence of the trade union conference that we have just hosted and which turned out to be the biggest in its three-year history. It was the largest gathering ever of representatives of the Caribbean working class. The hosting of this conference has been for us both a duty and a pleasure. This conference

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**'One of the earliest acts of the revolution was the repeal of all antiworker laws and the enactment of democratic, progressive labor laws such as the Trade Union Recognition Act, which guarantees the right of workers to form and participate in trade unions of their choice. Most of these unions are developing programs of democratic participation and education for their members.'**



Participants in trade-union seminar sponsored last year by Grenada Bank and General Workers Union and Commercial and Industrial Workers Union.



**'Daily our process is the object of threats both veiled and undisguised, coming from the mighty United States and its string of yardboys and yardgirls in the region. Once again, comrades, we assert that we are the masters of our own house, we stand upright, with dignity, ready to defend this land, this sea, this region.'**

*Continued from preceding page*

ence has been held at a time when the working people of the Caribbean are beginning to feel the full weight of the capitalist world economic crisis, and when the regional ruling classes have agreed on common solutions, which can only mean harsher conditions, austerity, more and more hardship, and increased exploitation of the poor.

One of the highest expressions of international solidarity with the Grenada revolution is precisely today's conference. For the first time since our revolution, people like yourselves who have been consistent friends and allies of our struggle are meeting all together. You come as friends, as comrades-in-arms, as firm, consistent defenders of the truth of this revolution. The presence of comrades from all continents is not only an indication of the support of the international community for our revolution, but is also a testimony to the oneness of our struggle against a common enemy and to the unity of our aspirations.

Another living example of the regional support that our revolution has attracted is the presence among us of internationalist workers from the Caribbean region as well as from other parts of the world. In all the key sections of our development, these internationalists are co-workers, facing with us the historic challenge of creating the new and just society.

Comrades, one of our most important reasons for calling upon your support is the threat we face from U.S. imperialism. From the earliest days of the revolution we have been subject to threats and attempts by U.S. imperialism to undermine and destroy our process. The strategy of imperialism has been to fight us on all fronts: political pressure, propaganda destabilization, economic warfare, and now, imminently, the military solution.

From the very morning of our revolution, pressure was brought to bear upon us by the U.S. in an attempt to dictate the character and direction of our political process. We were warned, for example, that relations with Cuba would not be countenanced.

The propaganda campaign also began very early, with an impudent plan to use the local media to wage war upon the revolution from the inside, like a worm surreptitiously eating away at the heart of a healthy fruit. The lesson that imperialism learned from that early impudence was that this revolution must be respected; and every subsequent attempt, including the recent action of a group of counterrevolutionary planters, merchants, and professionals, has been firmly dealt with. The revolution, having silenced the local mouthpieces of imperialism, faces increased propaganda aggression from outside. This campaign was taken to a new level with the prime time broadcasts on the U.S. national television network, feeding to the people of the United States of America the most vulgar distortions of Grenadian reality.

On the economic front we have been faced with recurrent acts of sabotage; the vulgar abuse by the U.S. of its dominant position in international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to stifle the legitimate rights to assistance of small, developing states in the region like Grenada and Nicaragua.

Today the assumption of power by a fascist clique in the U.S. and the failure of imperialism's attempts to destroy our process have brought our revolution face to face with the ugliest side of imperialism — naked military aggression. In the last two months alone there have been two major maneuvers carried out upon Caribbean land and sea by the warlords of the north; "Ocean Venture '81," "Operation Amber and the Amberines," and "Red X 183," have been shameless rehearsals for eventual invasions of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada and/or preparation for an armed entry into El Salvador on the side of the fascist junta!

But it is not only here in our Caribbean that the enemies of peace have been rattling their sabers. These neutron warmongers have been seeking military confrontation on several continents. The shooting down of two Libyan planes, the military maneuvers code named "Bright Star"; the South African invasion of Angola; the open attack by Zionist Israel on Iraq, Beirut, southern Lebanon, and the Palestinian people; and the tons of lies being spread today against the revolutionary peoples and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua in preparation for an armed invasion; and the role of the U.S. in El Salvador are all examples of this trend.

The peoples of the world, however, including the

people of the United States, conscious of the grave danger to mankind posed by these adventurist actions and policies, are standing up for peace.

Comrades, world public opinion is increasingly a force of international affairs. The voice of the working masses can no longer be ignored. We saw the part it played in the Vietnam War. International public opinion has become more and more powerful in recent times when the balance of forces has been shifting towards anti-imperialism and national self-determination. Again and again we have seen world public opinion respond indignantly to acts of military aggression against small, weak nations, again and again we have seen world opinion condemn and curb the attempts of imperialism to intervene and turn back popular processes.

And this, comrades, is another reason why your solidarity is so important to the continued forward movement of the Grenada revolution. But it is important that international public opinion be mobilized not only against the military subversion of popular processes. It is important that we recognize the equally devastating effects of the other forms of aggression. International public opinion must treat with equal gravity attempts to block aid to countries like Grenada, the financing of counterrevolutionary journalism and other propaganda destabilization, and the landing of marines on the soil of other countries. For all of these have the same aim of overthrowing our revolution, all of these are acts of aggression against our people.

So how can you, the friends of the Grenada revolution, continue to help us build and consolidate this process? How can your solidarity safeguard and promote our revolution?

Comrades, solidarity meetings such as this are a vital forum for galvanizing world public opinion. Educating and informing the people of the world about the reality of this revolution is a necessity. This task by itself is part of the general struggle of the poor for the right to information. It is part of the broad struggle against the imperialist, monopoly control of the media and for a new world information order.

As a poor, underdeveloped country, our efforts to break the vicious cycle of poverty and exploitation, the programs of the revolution designed to improve the social and economic well-being of our people, depend to a large extent on the material assistance that we receive. And we are therefore always very appreciative of the internationalist assistance which we receive from so many different peoples.

Friends of our revolution, you can help us by organizing Grenada friendship associations in your country. Providing a framework for organized and ongoing solidarity work, providing a framework within which peace forces, friends, and other well-wishers can be drawn into concrete political, educational, and fundraising activity. Alongside the formation of friendship associations is the organization of tours to Grenada. The most often reiterated position of the revolution in response to the absurd lies and distortions has been to "come and see for yourself."

Our revolutionary process is one guided by principles of honesty and integrity, our revolutionary process is one defended and made by the Grenadian masses. We say to our friends, "come, share our experiences," we say to the doubting Thomases, "come see for yourself." [applause]

By coming and seeing for yourself, and by encouraging others to do likewise, you not only dispel the falsehoods of imperialism, but you also help our economy, by contributing to the new tourism.

So here you are among us, brothers and sisters, to witness for yourselves the evolution of what we aspire to build into a new civilization in the Caribbean. What is new about our model, what is different about our process? The answer to this can be assisted by a whole series of questions which might be posed by any visitor to our shores who is struck by the evidence that something is afoot here which does not quite fall into the pattern of life in most of the rest of the Caribbean. Some of the questions that are most usually asked are the following:

- Why did we, as one of the priorities of the revolution, send volunteers into the field to find out how many of our people were illiterate, and then move decisively into developing a national program of adult education?

- Why have we stretched our human and financial resources to set up a training program for all primary

and junior secondary teachers, instead of continuing the traditional teachers college model of training fifty select teachers per year?

- Why are we instituting primary health care?
- Why do we hold so many mass meetings?
- Why do we hold so many solidarity rallies and events with so many national liberation movements and friendly governments around the world?

- Why are we working so hard to expand the NYO, and NWO and other mass organizations?

- Why are we the only country in the English-speaking Caribbean that has decided to arm our people and create a People's Revolutionary Militia? What has inspired this confidence?

- Why are ordinary, grassroots men, women, and youth being exposed to leadership training and political science courses?

- Why are we developing so many new organizations, and popular democratic organizations such as workers' parish councils, youth and women's parish councils and community zonal councils within every parish?

- Why is the distribution of milk in every community carried out voluntarily by the organized members of that community?

- Why have we established work brigades to involve our people in the task of rebuilding our country on a voluntary patriotic and unpaid basis?

- Why are our community organizations able to set up and run day care centers and kindergartens with only minimal input from the government?

- Why, in the face of serious transportation problems, in the face of ongoing attempts to undermine the confidence of the people in their revolution, in the face of serious ongoing objective problems, why, in the face of all this, were we able to bring to Seamount yesterday a crowd far, far bigger, and far more militant, united, and conscious than the 10,000 who came out to the N.J.M.'s first People's Congress held on that same spot around eight years ago?

- Why is the anti-Grenada lobby becoming so strident and hysterical?

- Why does the newspaper of our revolution, *The Free West Indian* encounter so many obstacles to its distribution in the other Caribbean islands, while their newspapers sell freely on our streets, notwithstanding the lies and the distortions which they print about Grenada?

- Why is there no propaganda campaign, no accusations of human rights violations, no calls for elections, no policy of isolation, no economic blockades, nor any threat of military intervention against a country like Haiti, where people are literally jumping into the sea every day to escape the unbearable conditions under which they live?

- Why?

We invite you to explore our country, examine our process, experience our revolution, and assess for yourselves the new directions that we have taken.

Comrades, beloved friends, once again we reiterate our pleasure in having [you] here with us. One hundred and twenty delegates from so many countries from all continents is a definite statement of militant solidarity that "Grenada is not alone."

Comrades, we urge you to enjoy your stay in our country and hope that whatever our modest hospitality lacks will be more than made up for by the warmth and friendliness of our people.

We assure you of our total support in your struggles against injustice, exploitation, and warmongering; and for peace, social progress and national liberation.

Long live solidarity, friendship, and cooperation among peoples!

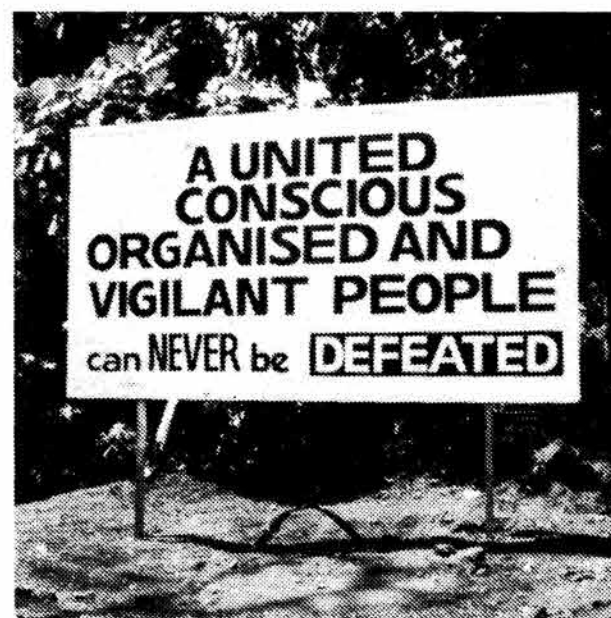
Long live the anti-imperialist and antifascist unity of peace-loving and progressive forces worldwide!

Long live the force and weight of international public opinion!

Long live internationalism!

Long live the Grenada revolution!

Forward ever, backward never!





# What capitalism has in store for entire working class

Socialist Workers Party national committee assesses U.S. war moves in Central America and the Caribbean

By Steve Clark

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Committee (NC) held a four-day meeting here November 21-24, as thousands of people across the United States protested Washington's escalating threats to intervene militarily against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada. The meeting adjourned for four hours Saturday afternoon, so that those attending the meeting could participate in the emergency protest of 1,000 people outside the United Nations building.

Among the some 170 people attending the SWP meeting were not only NC members, but also elected directors of the party's national industrial fractions and organizers of party branches, locals, and districts.

The intensification of U.S. war preparations in the Caribbean and Central America over the fall was a major topic of the NC discussions along with other international and domestic political developments since the SWP's national convention in early August.

In just that short period of time, "it has become clearer than ever what capitalism has in store for the entire working class, here and abroad," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in the report on the political situation adopted by the National Committee.

"We all can see it," he said. "We can feel it. And we have to analyze it, including how this situation affects the SWP and how it determines our tasks."

Focusing primarily on what is new in U.S. and world politics since the party's August convention, Barnes's report took a look at the international relationship of two factors:

1) The blows being dealt to the American working class, the inevitable character of the capitalists' drive against workers here and abroad, and the effects of this onslaught on the misleaders of the trade unions and organizations of the oppressed; and

2) The forces within the working class and oppressed in this country that are seeking to resist this ruling-class offensive and chart a road forward.

"What capitalism promises is growing disasters, crises, reaction, and war," Barnes said. "Like the rest of the working class, we feel these blows. At the same time, we draw strength from the young ranks in the labor movement and other fighters against oppression, who are far from being defeated."

"If you just look at one side of the current political situation — if you just feel the blows and look at the defeats, the inevitable escalation of the employers' offensive, and the rout of the labor officialdom — then you can develop a negative and inaccurate view," Barnes explained.

"We also have to look at the forces that are beginning to come forward to resist these attacks — forces that are the raw material of a revolutionary wing of the working-class movement out of which a mass revolutionary proletarian party will be built in this country."

## Capitalist austerity drive

Barnes noted that for the first time since Reagan took office last January, the administration is now being forced to acknowledge that the U.S. economy is heading into a deep recession. Spokespeople for the White House admit that unemployment will become worse than at the low point of the 1974-75 depression, while some financial-page columnists predict that it may rival the jobless levels at the end of the Great Depression in 1939.



New York demonstration against U.S. military threat in Central America and the Caribbean. SWP meeting stressed need to get out truth about Washington's war plans.

Barnes drew attention to the frank and calculated admissions in a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article by Reagan's budget director, David Stockman.

All the talk from the White House about so-called supply side theories to revive the economy are "pure malarky," Barnes said.

"Reagan's policies have no theoretical significance to them. Their sole purpose is to try to aid big business in getting profits up, as the only way of reindustrializing, restructuring, and 'reprofitizing' the U.S. capitalist economy."

That profit drive requires massive cuts in government spending on social programs. It also involves shifting the tax burden even more heavily onto the shoulders of working people, as Stockman stated outright in the *Atlantic Monthly* article. According to Stockman, Reagan's tax plan — billed as an effort to relieve hard-pressed working people — "was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top rate," in other words, to decrease taxes on the ruling rich.

The report also pointed to the growing extortion demands by the employers that go by the name of "givebacks." International Harvester is demanding that workers take a 5 percent wage cut and give up other gains won in past contracts. General Motors and Ford are insisting that the "exceptional" takeback measures imposed on Chrysler workers over the past several years now become the rule throughout the auto industry.

The cutting edge of the antilabor drive this fall has been the union-busting assault by the government and airline industry against air traffic controllers and their union, PATCO. The rulers' aim has been to send a chilling message to the entire labor movement. PATCO has been decertified, more than seventy of its members brought up on federal charges, and striking workers fired and barred from future federal employment.

Meanwhile, the airlines themselves have used the strike to justify further profit-grabbing moves, at the expense of workers throughout the industry and of

air travellers, for whom service grows steadily more unsafe and less convenient.

Despite the defeats that have been dealt to working people over the past decade, Barnes said, the employers are still a long way from accomplishing what they must to make possible a new period of profitable economic expansion. This is shown by the capitalists' continuing reluctance to draw on the banks or use their own funds to invest in any sweeping modernization of their operations.

Barnes pointed to the example of U.S. Steel, the nation's largest steel corporation, which is suffering losses in the world steel market due to the antiquated character of most of its major plants. Rather than sinking all available investment funds into modernization of steelmaking, however, U.S. Steel has recently had a \$6.5 billion bid to buy Marathon Oil.

## Attacks against Black rights

The report adopted by the SWP National Committee took special note of the sharp step-up in attacks against Blacks and women.

Barnes pointed to the recent statement by the assistant U.S. attorney general for civil rights that the Reagan administration is not "going to compel children who don't choose to have an integrated education to have one." In other words, Reagan intends to outdo his predecessors in undermining the enforcement of school desegregation and busing.

Along with this attack on equal education for Black and other oppressed nationalities, Barnes cited Washington's efforts to weaken voting rights protection for Blacks; the further undermining of enforcement of affirmative action programs; the systematic brutalization of immigrant Haitian workers, resulting in many deaths; and continuing probes by racist and ultrarightist outfits inspired by the rightward march of capitalist politics.

A key aspect of the racist ideological offensive of the Democratic and Republican parties is the attempt to whip up an hysteria for "law and order."

"Behind the banner of the fight against crime," Barnes said, "the rulers continue to chip away democratic rights and to feed racist sentiments."

The SWP NC also unanimously adopted a separate report on this reactionary "law and order" campaign. The report was presented by SWP National Chairperson Barry Sheppard.

Sheppard pointed to the growing demands by capitalist politicians and the big business press for "swifter justice," higher bails, longer sentences, and the gutting of trial rights and other democratic protections. Vigilantes and "crime fighters" such as the Guardian Angels are played up as heroes by the media and encouraged by government authorities.

A central aim of the crime scare is to divert attention from the mounting crimes by the cops, corporations, and the capitalist government, Sheppard said. The rulers seek to pin the blame for violence and other products of the capitalist system on the poor and to pit working people against one another. The capitalists try to heighten racist and antiworking class prejudices and fears among small businessmen and other layers of the middle class.

The job of a revolutionary workers party, Sheppard said, is to expose this campaign of lies and panic-mongering and to unite the working class in struggle against the real criminals — the employing class and their government.

## Women's gains under fire

The capitalist rulers have also made headway in rolling back gains won by women. Capitalist politicians have virtually stopped even pretending that they will ratify the Equal Rights Amendment before time runs out in June 1982, Barnes said. The government is going after affirmative action programs, slashing funds for child care, and attacking abortion rights.

"The right of a woman to control her own body is the touchstone of women's rights under the capitalist system," Barnes said. "It strikes directly at the special position of women as an oppressed sex."

Barnes pointed to the serious inroads against the availability of abortion as a result of reactionary legislation over the past half-decade. "Attacks on the right to abortion," the report stressed, "will always be found at the center of the campaign to drive women back into the isolation of their homes."

It is the capitalist politicians who have sabotaged ratification of the ERA, Barnes said, despite overwhelming majority sentiment in favor of it. Supporters of women's rights must now prevent them from *de facto* overturning the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and making it a woman's right to choose.

A report on the SWP's countermoves against government attacks on its democratic rights was also adopted by the National Committee. The report, presented by NC member John Studer, centered on the party's efforts to defend socialists working in war plants from arbitrary firings and political harassment and to stop the deportation of foreign-born socialists targeted by the government because of their political views.

The scope of the ruling-class offensive is so massive that capitalist propagandists

*Continued on next page*



# 'Installing a workers government is the only way to disarm U.S. rulers and ensure world peace'

Continued from preceding page

distants are being compelled to justify this antilabor course in ever more frank and brutal terms.

## How capitalism works

"In the world's richest country, capitalist politicians insist that food, clothing, decent housing, education, and medicine are *privileges*," Barnes said, "while in some of the poorest countries in Central America and the Caribbean — Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada — these things are becoming *rights* as the result of socialist revolutions."

The attacks on the rights and living standards of the American people result from "the inevitable workings of capitalism," Barnes said. "This is capitalism. This is how it works, as Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky explained.

"These are not the policies of isolated madmen or rightist ideologues on the fringe of capitalist politics," the report explained. "Reagan is administering the bipartisan program necessitated by the drive for higher profits by the U.S. capitalist class. He is following a course set by the Republican and Democratic parties."

The foreign policy of U.S. imperialism is determined by these same overall considerations, Barnes said. The operation of the profit system on a world scale continues to widen the gap between a handful of oppressor nations and the majority of oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

While the imperialist profit hogs intensify competition for markets and sources of raw materials, hundreds of millions of people in the colonial and semicolonial countries are condemned to growing poverty, malnutrition, disease, and death. They are the most devastated victims of the world capitalist crisis.

This assault on the living standards of the oppressed of the world, the inevitable product of the capitalist system, just as inevitably spurs resistance and revolutions. As a result, the imperialists are growing more determined to use military power to crush these struggles — whether they erupt in Iran, Angola, Namibia, or elsewhere.

The imperialists are particularly determined to prevent and roll back socialist revolutions, such as those in Indochina or those developing in Central America and the Caribbean today.

"The threat of force, and the use of force, is more and more becoming a necessary part of answering the refusal of hundreds of millions of people around the world to say 'yes' to imperialism's program targeting their lives and futures," Barnes said.

Of course, the report explained, military intervention abroad by the U.S. government would be unpopular among the American people, who don't want another Vietnam. It would also be unpopular with working people in Western Europe and Latin America, causing problems for Washington's capitalist allies there.

In light of these factors, Barnes said, "Some people can't resist asking, 'Would they dare? Can Washington risk that in this day and age? In 1981? What a price they would pay!'"

But the report pointed out that the capitalists "have to dare every time the socialist revolution advances. That's one price they cannot afford to pay."

## Nuclear saber-rattling

"Since 1917, each time the socialist revolution has pressed forward, the capitalists have tried to reverse it by use of force," he said, "and each time they have failed."

That is the international political context of the nuclear saber-rattling over the past few months by President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig, and other top administration officials. That is behind the talk of a possible "demonstration" nuclear explosion and limited nuclear exchanges in Western Europe. That is behind the drive by Washington and its imperialist allied governments to deploy cruise missiles, the neutron bomb, and new medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

"These are serious warnings and dangerous moves," Barnes said.

Washington's aim, however, is not to drive toward a nuclear war with the Soviet Union on European soil for the foreseeable future, Barnes explained. The U.S. rulers know that they could not win such a war.

"The aim of the U.S. ruling class is to boost its profits and extend its world domination," the report explained, "not to initiate its own nuclear annihilation."

The immediate aim of the nuclear build-up in Europe is also not to take decisive new steps toward a U.S. nuclear first-strike capacity vis-à-vis the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

That remains a long-term goal of the U.S. ruling class, Barnes said, a goal that already diverts massive resources from socially useful production and leads to the gigantic and ceaseless build-up of an arsenal of mass destruction. But a first-strike capacity is only achievable as the product of a long period in which the economic growth of U.S. imperialism vastly outstrips that of the Soviet Union — conditions that certainly don't exist in the midst of the current period of international capitalist stagnation.

These factors do not explain the most ominous and immediate significance of the current moves to bolster U.S. nuclear forces in Europe and the threatening language coming from the war criminals in the White House and Pentagon.

Not what's happening in Europe, but "what's happening in the rest of the world," provides that explanation, Barnes said.

Washington's aim is to send a clear message that it intends to go to war where its interests are threatened — in Latin America, the Mideast, Africa, Indochina — and that the Soviet Union should stay out of the way.

"The fact that the Soviet workers state and the mightiest imperialist power face each other off in a nuclear stalemate is the cover behind which U.S. imperialism goes to war," Barnes said.

"This is nothing new," he said, pointing to the Vietnam war as an example. With that nuclear stalemate, Washington even mined and bombed Haiphong Harbor in North Vietnam, damaging some Soviet ships and endangering many others.

The report explained where Moscow and the U.S. Communist Party go wrong in responding to these moves by focusing on an alleged rush toward war with the Soviet Union. He pointed to a recent speech by U.S. Peace Council leader Michael Meyerson that was printed approvingly in the CP's *Daily World*. Meyerson explained that the way to prevent war is to take the truth about the horrors of the nuclear age into every American household — including the "White Household."

Such an approach is wrong on at least two counts. It diverts attention from the real and immediate war danger, focusing instead on the search for peace in the abstract. And it starts from a wrong and deadly assumption that the capitalists can be convinced to stop their war moves.

"There is nothing at all abstract about the threat of war today," Barnes said. "Everything must center on the collision being planned by Washington in the Caribbean and Central America."

## War danger in the Caribbean

Mobilizing the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) to help get out the truth about the war danger in the Caribbean and Central America was a central aspect of the political report adopted by the SWP National Committee. The SWP and YSA had actively participated in publicizing and organizing the emergency demonstrations around the country November 21 protesting the escalation of U.S. war moves.

"We are heading toward a military showdown in Central America and the Caribbean," Barnes said.

"The exact character of that showdown, its timetable, what armies will be involved, the plans for blockades, harbor minings, or air attacks — we are not privy to that kind of information. But enough has been intentionally 'leaked' over the past several weeks, and there have been enough public threats by U.S. officials, to give us a pretty good idea of the various options that are being considered."

Since August, Barnes explained, "the U.S. ruling class has opened up a concerted campaign to prepare military action — to prepare it on every level, military, logistical, diplomatic, and propagandistic."

"American imperialism has no other solution than force," Barnes said. "It has no other way to try to stem the tide of socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. It has no other way to try to drive back the development of revolutionary internationalist leaderships in the region, under the political inspiration and example of the Cuban Communist Party."

He pointed to the economic, political, and military measures that imperialism has already brought to bear against Ni-

caragua and Grenada, and the difficulties these have caused for economic reconstruction. Imperialist pressure has hastened defections from these revolutions, both by bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces, inside these countries and in the solidarity movement around the world.

Despite enormous problems, Barnes said, "the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions continue to move forward. The workers and farmers governments in those countries are growing stronger and moving toward the consolidation of two new workers states in this hemisphere."

He pointed to the deteriorating situation for the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador. The liberation forces have regained the initiative there over the past several months, while the political crisis of the government and divisions in the ruling circles have deepened.

The report also emphasized the need to pay closer attention to developments in Guatemala, where antigovernment forces are making significant advances.

The U.S. rulers know that more than two decades of progress by the Cuban revolution, and the revolutionary course of its leadership, have inspired and taught invaluable lessons to those throughout Central America and the Caribbean who are struggling against imperialist domination. Thus, under the lying pretext that revolution is being "exported," Washington is preparing to justify military action against Cuba as part of its counterrevolutionary measures — to "go to the source," as Haig put it.

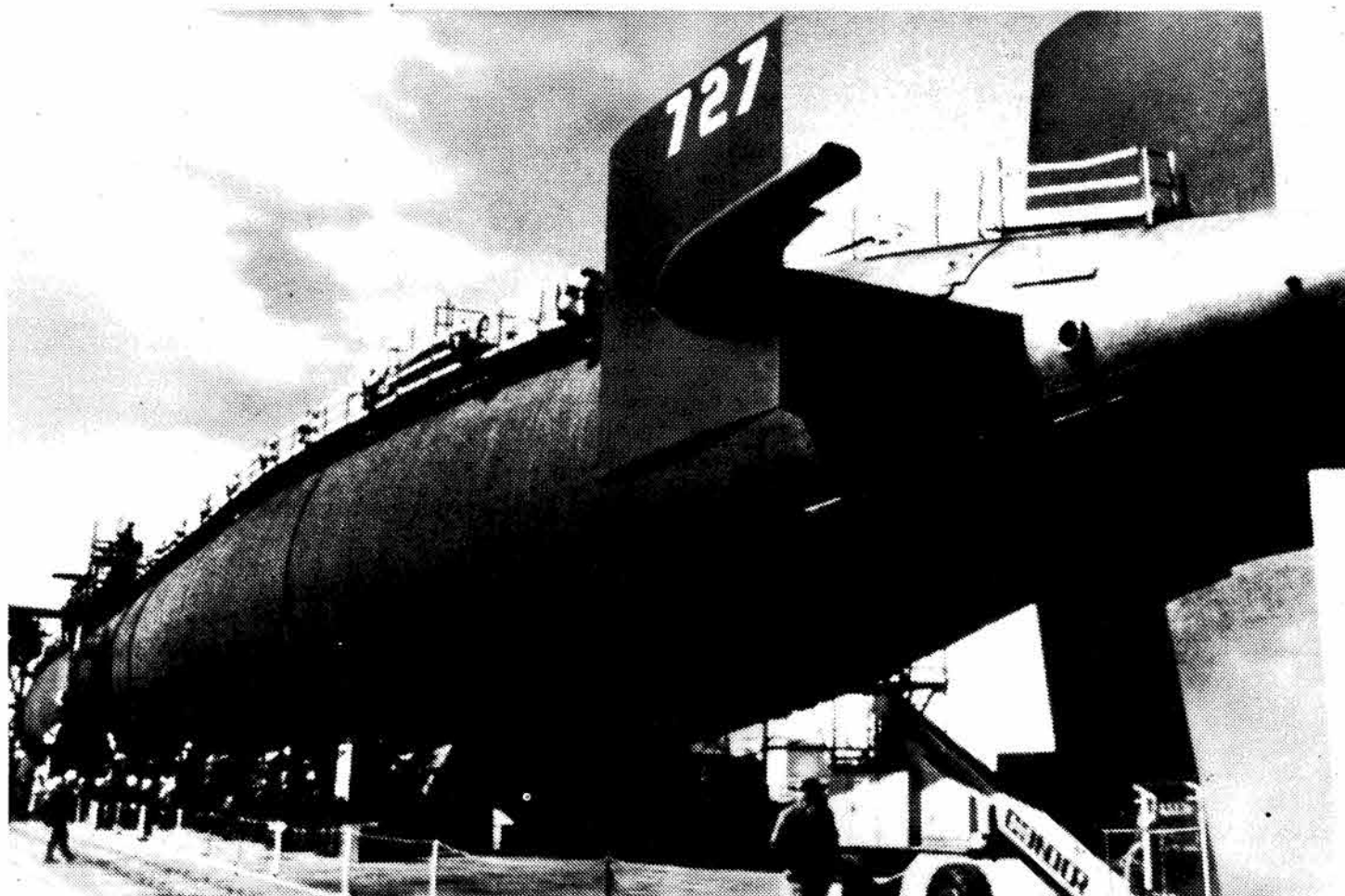
The Castro leadership has been in the forefront of preparing the Cuban workers and peasants, and people throughout the region and the world, for the confrontation with U.S. imperialism.

"For two-and-a-half years, since the victories in Grenada and Nicaragua," Barnes said, "the Cubans have known what's coming. And they have used that



'A central aim of crime scare is to divert attention from the mounting crimes by the cops, corporations, and the capitalist government.' Rulers are using 'law and order' hysteria to chip away democratic rights and to feed racist sentiments.





Trident submarine. Immediate aim of U.S. nuclear saber-rattling is to send message that Washington intends to go to war in semicolonial countries where its interests are threatened, and the Soviet Union should stay out of the way.

time to educate, prepare, mobilize, and lead the Cuban toilers to meet that challenge. That has also been the Cubans' approach to their friends and allies around the world, to the degree that they would listen and team up to defend these revolutions."

This fall, the Cubans have again taken the lead, sounding a worldwide alert against imminent U.S. military moves. Barnes pointed out that Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada had been in a state of mobilization against these dangers for several weeks.

Midway through the NC meeting, party leader Larry Seigle returned from Cuba, where he had been covering the response of the Cuban government and people to the escalating U.S. threats. Seigle reported to the NC on his visit and described two conferences he had attended there — one on the fight against racism in the United States, the other in solidarity with Indochina.

NC member Matilde Zimmermann arrived from Nicaragua to attend the SWP leadership meeting. Zimmermann, who is a correspondent for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Managua, reported on the situation in Nicaragua to the NC meeting, as well as at a public forum held on the evening before the meeting began.

### We don't vote on war

The collision in the Caribbean is inevitable, Barnes said in his report. The U.S. capitalists will not be stopped from pursuing their most fundamental class interests by the antiwar and antidraft sentiment that remains very deep in the U.S. population.

"The American ruling class doesn't operate by getting a consensus from the American people before going to war," he pointed out. "They don't hold a democratic vote."

"In fact," he explained, "the rulers believe that the only hope of reversing the 'Vietnam Syndrome' is to carry out an act of war, launch a massive propaganda campaign to try to justify it to the American people, and then demand support for this use of force."

But to say that the collision is inevitable is not to say that Washington will inevitably be successful.

"That is the question of this decade," Barnes said. "It will be decided in struggle, and there has never been a better relationship of forces here and abroad to prevent the victory of a U.S. military intervention."

### Campaign to get out truth

That is why the campaign in the United States to get out the truth about Washington's war plans is so important. Barnes stressed that the SWP and YSA must help take this campaign into the

antidraft and antinuclear movements, into the organizations in solidarity with the Central American and Caribbean revolutions, to their co-workers in steel mills and garment shops, and onto the streets.

Preventing a successful U.S. military blow to these revolutions requires that socialists explain the real character of capitalism and imperialism, how the rulers *must* and *will* use war to defend their rotting system.

"Such a scientific understanding of capitalism is the only adequate preparation to combat the rulers' war policies," Barnes said.

"Wars cannot be prevented," he said. "The Vietnam war was not prevented. It was fought. And it was won by the Vietnamese, backed up by a mass antiwar movement in this country and around the world."

"But a nuclear war *can* be prevented," Barnes said.

The danger of world war has been repeatedly pushed back by victories in the colonial revolution, he said. The toilers of the colonial world have bought time for the world revolution.

"But this time must be used by the workers in the imperialist countries, above all in the United States, to make successful socialist revolutions to take the government out of the hands of the capitalist war-makers," Barnes said. "The establishment of a workers government in this country is the only way to disarm the U.S. rulers and ensure world peace."

### What the Cubans explain

The report pointed to the example set by the Cuban leadership in telling the truth about imperialism.

"The Cubans' mightiest weapon is the truth," Barnes said, "not their arms nor even their fighting spirit. They tell the truth to the toilers of the world — the real truth about capitalism and imperialism — like no government has told it since the Bolshevik regime. The Cubans explain that the decline of the rapacious world capitalist system is creating the most dangerous period that humanity has ever gone through."

The Cubans are not reckless adventurers — far from it. But they do not flinch from this reality. They know that the struggle against capitalist injustice is just as inevitable as the capitalists' determination to crush that struggle. And they know that the fight for world peace and the fight against capitalist oppression are the same fight.

As Fidel Castro put it in a recent speech, "We will save peace if its enemies know that we are ready to die for it before submitting to blackmail and fear."

What successes have been made by

the campaign initiated by the Cubans to expose the U.S. war moves in the Caribbean and Central America?

### Breaking through blackout

"What has been accomplished in the last couple of weeks is very important," Barnes said.

The campaign "has broken through the press blackout. It has challenged the edifice of lies that has been built up over several months by the imperialist propaganda machine."

"By appealing to the ranks of the labor, popular, and anti-imperialist movements in Latin America, this campaign has forced statements opposing U.S. intervention from bourgeois political figures such as Mexico's President Lopez Portillo, and the president of Venezuela."

"And the Cubans succeeded in getting the Soviet government to make at least one public statement warning Washington that Cuba 'is a member of the community of socialist states.'"

Barnes pointed to Washington's continuing stream of lies, "leaks," and threats as evidence that defenders of the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean must not let up in getting out the facts about U.S. war plans in the region.

Barnes also explained the importance of the growing movements in Britain and Western Europe against NATO and for unilateral disarmament. It is for good reason that "Euroshima" has been added to people's vocabulary throughout Europe, he said.

The rapid growth of this movement reflects the mass sentiment among European workers against the moves by Washington and by their own imperialist governments to place additional nuclear missiles throughout the continent. This opposition is increasing as a result

of statements by Reagan officials over the past few months.

This growing movement has a direct stake in the fight against imperialist war threats in the Caribbean, Africa, the Mideast, and Indochina. Preparation to carry out wars in these areas is at the heart of the imperialist drive to build up the European nuclear arsenal.

Bringing these questions to the fore in this movement is also the most effective counter to those currents that attempt to place equal blame for the war danger on imperialism and the Soviet workers state, claiming to represent a "third camp" between the two. Supporters of such "third camp" positions undermine the fight for peace by refusing to focus their efforts on opposing the real war threats, such as those in the Caribbean today.

The development of the antimissile movement in Europe can plan an important role in advancing the fight by vanguard industrial workers for the revolutionary transformation of the labor movement throughout Western Europe. It poses a challenge to the current misleaderships of the trade unions and mass workers parties, which refuse to mobilize the labor movement against the imperialist policies of their own governments.

The political report adopted by the SWP National Committee also took note of other aspects of imperialism's worldwide drive to halt and reverse struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

"Imperialist provocations throughout the world have increased just in the three months since our August convention," Barnes said. He cited threats and military aggression by Washington and its allies against North Korea, Libya, Iran, and Angola.

U.S. and Western European imperialism continue their brutal economic boycott of Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. With the help of the Peking bureaucracy and capitalist regimes in Southeast Asia, this campaign to starve out the Indochinese peoples is accompanied by unrelenting military pressure, especially along the China-Vietnam and Thai-Kampuchean borders.

The NC report also pointed to the importance of continuing to explain the significance of the Polish workers struggle through the party's press, public forums, pamphlets, and socialist election campaigns.

This is especially true since the Polish workers have so many false friends in the U.S. working-class movement. On one side are the union bureaucrats and social democrats who wage an anticommunist campaign in support of the foreign policy aims of U.S. imperialism — the worst enemy of workers in Poland and throughout the world. On the other side are the American CP and others on the U.S. left who slander the Polish workers movement, falsely portraying it as a movement for capitalist restoration.

As a central part of the advance of the world socialist revolution today, Barnes said, the fight for socialism and democracy by the Polish workers is of great significance to the working class in the United States and internationally.

*Continued on next page*

### The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Building a Party of Socialist Workers

### From Pathfinder Press

This book deals with two central themes: the deepgoing economic and political changes of the past decade and their impact on the thinking of working people in the United States; and the resulting necessity for the SWP to lead its members into the industrial working class and the industrial unions.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 364 pp., \$7.95. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.



# Discuss war threats, economic attacks

By Margaret Jayko

What are your plans for the December 31-January 3 weekend?

If they don't yet include coming to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) 21st national convention in Philadelphia, you should consider changing them.

Hundreds of young people from across the United States, and from other countries, will be spending those four days discussing and debating what is Reaganism and how to fight it.

Participants will include coal miners, rail workers, garment workers, steelworkers, machinists, and other young workers who are the main targets of the ruling class drive against our rights and living standards.

There will be trade union workshops, where workers from each industry will discuss how to involve their unions and co-workers in defending the democratic rights of all working people which are under attack by the bosses and their government.

Members of the National Black Independent Political Party; supporters of the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Iran; fighters for abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment; antidraft activists; immigrant workers under threat of deportation; students who are organizing against the nuclear menace and the war threats in the Caribbean and Central America — all will be participating.

Workshops to exchange experiences and ideas will be organized on these and other topics.

The heart of the convention will be six major reports, which will be discussed and voted on by the democratically-

elected delegates from every YSA chapter.

These will focus on:

- the deepening conflict between the U.S. ruling class and the working class around the world;
- how to fight back against the capitalist militarization and austerity drives;
- the significance of the formation of the National Black Independent Political Party;
- what kind of women's movement is needed to respond to the attacks on women's rights;
- how the YSA can organize to get out its socialist ideas to young people today;
- the YSA's participation in the struggles that young people are involved in;

There will also be classes explaining basic Marxist ideas, such as "Why Marxists defend science against religion and right-wing attacks" by Stu Singer; "Reaganomics" by Jon Britton; "Lenin's views on militarism and women's rights" by Suzanne Haig; and "Why we study Marxism" by Héctor Marroquín.

There will be introductory classes on socialism conducted in both Spanish and English.

In addition, there will be slide shows, films, and discos.

The highlight of the convention will be an anti-Reaganism rally on the evening of January 2. The keynote speaker will be Mel Mason, a Black city councilman in Seaside, California. Mason is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Above all, the convention will be figuring out how to reach out to the thou-

sands of young people that are fed up with this system and want to discuss how socialists think things can be changed.

If this sounds like the place to spend your New Year's weekend, fill out and send in the coupon on this page. And bring some friends.



## Schedule:

Thursday, December 31

12:30 pm International Report  
1:30pm U.S. Political Situation Report  
6:30pm Introduction to Socialism Classes  
8:30pm Workshops/Classes  
10:00pm New Year's Eve Party

Friday, January 1

9:00am Black Struggle Report  
1:45pm Fight for Women's Rights Report  
5:00pm Trade Union Workshops  
6:30pm Introduction to Socialism Classes  
8:30pm Movies/Slide Shows/Disco

Saturday, January 2

9:00am Organization and Finances Report  
2:45pm Tasks and Perspectives Report  
5:00pm Workshops/Classes  
8:30pm Rally: THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

Sunday, January 3

12 noon: Class/Slide Show

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance  
☐ I want to attend the YSA convention  
☐ I want a year's subscription to the *Young Socialist* newspaper. Enclosed is \$2.00. Clip and mail to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

## Young workers educate on democracy and revolution

By Maureen McDougall

DENVER — "Democracy and Revolution" was the theme of a regional education conference held November 27-28 in Denver, sponsored by the Denver chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Over fifty people attended each session, including many from as far away as Salt Lake City and Price, Utah, and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Agnes Chapa, one of six coal miners who drove eight hours through the Rockies from Price to attend the conference, opened it with a talk on Nicaragua. Chapa, who was the YSA representative to an international solidarity conference held in Managua, Nicaragua, last winter, explained how the Nicaraguan people, since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, have been able to directly participate in the running of their country.

Stormy Mullendore, a member of the Salt Lake City YSA and the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Inter-

national Union, described how Cubans participate in the decision-making of the country through elections to the "Peoples Power" assemblies, as well as through trade unions, women's, youth and other organizations. He illustrated his talk with slides from his trip to Cuba as part of a youth tour organized by the YSA.

Devon Parry, a member of the Denver YSA and the Communications Workers of America, talked about the history of Poland and the rise of the militant Solidarity union, which has become a powerful force for democracy in Poland.

The final talk, given by Pat Silverthorn, a rail worker and member of the Denver YSA, dealt with the United States. She explained the history of the fight for democracy here and why government and big business are trying to roll back gains in democratic rights.

One of those attending the conference was Fred Watson, a young Black school teacher who has been active in voter registration drives in his community in

Denver. He recently researched housing conditions in Denver for a Colorado senator and uncovered information about substandard housing and older people being forced out of their low-income housing to make way for high-rise office blocks and condominiums. "But the Senator wouldn't use it," he said, "It was too hot!"

Not all of the conference participants were young. Glenn Smith, a recently-retired railroad engineer and member of the United Transportation Union, drove 150 miles from his home in Rye, Colorado, to attend the conference. He likes to "tell people in Rye things from the *Militant*," which he has been reading for five or six years.

Joanne Heisel is an active supporter of Amnesty International, which campaigns for the release of political prisoners. She traveled to the conference from Albuquerque because she is "also looking for an organization which addresses the overall problems," and she is "becoming interested in socialism." She en-

joyed the conference and left with an armful of socialist books and pamphlets (\$120 of socialist literature was sold during the weekend).

A Ugandan student attending the conference was very impressed. "If these people from different parts of the country are an accurate sample of the YSA," he said, "then it's going in the right direction."

An important part of the educational weekend's events was a "Rally to Defend Civil Liberties," sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Speakers included representatives from the Kiko Martinez Defense Committee, the El Salvador Legal Defense Committee, the NASSCO 3 Defense Committee, and the American Friends Service Committee. Featured speaker was André Kahlmorgen, one of the employees of the Lockheed Corporation in Atlanta, Georgia, fired last year for being socialists and union activists.

The rally was attended by over sixty people and raised over \$1,000.

## ... what capitalism has in store for working class

Continued from preceding page

The NC meeting heard greetings from a representative of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, who reported on the November 21 march in Ottawa of 100,000 Québécois and English Canadian trade unionists against the policies of the Trudeau government. It also heard greetings from a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

SWP chairperson Mary-Alice Waters reported to the SWP NC on the recent split in the so-called International Committee for the Fourth International. The International Committee was made up of organizations that had split from the Fourth International at various times over the past two decades.

The launching of the International Committee in 1980 marked the coming together of forces being impelled in an increasingly sectarian direction by their refusal to recognize the revolutionary role that the Cuban leadership is playing today in the battle against world capitalism. This led these organizations in 1979 to carry out criminal adventurist actions in Nicaragua that endangered the workers and peasants revolution there, and then to mount a strident campaign of denunciation of the Sandinista-led government and Cuban revolution that has not abated to this day.

The forces in the so-called International Committee also failed to recognize the pressing need for revolutionists to become part of the discussions among young fighters in industry and the in-

dustrial unions as they seek ways to resist the worldwide antilabor offensive.

Despite the recent split, Waters said, neither wing of the now-divided forces show any sign of retreating from their dead-end course away from building revolutionary proletarian parties and advancing the construction of a mass communist international.

### How to fight back?

The intensifying capitalist drive against working people internationally is bringing profound changes in world politics. Resistance is mounting — from the revolutions in the Caribbean to the developing fightback mood among young workers in the plants, mines, and workshops in the United States.

In this country, workers are looking

for a strategy to fight back against the drive toward war and the attacks on their living standards and democratic rights. They are looking for political alternatives to the wars, rising prices, unemployment, cutbacks, destruction of the environment, and other calamities produced by capitalism.

How has the current leadership of the trade unions and organizations of the oppressed responded to these political changes? What forces are emerging to challenge this misleadership? What is the transitional program and strategy that revolutionary socialists put forward?

These questions were also discussed at the SWP National Committee meeting, and they will form the topic of another article.



# Gains made for 'Militant' in sub drive

By Nancy Rosenstock

Striking air traffic controllers, striking shipyard workers at the Brooklyn navy yard, anti-MX missile fighters in Utah, Haitian refugees in Miami. These are some of the people who were introduced to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* during our fall circulation drive.

For ten weeks, from September 19 through November 21, socialists were on a drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Slightly over 1,000 of these were to be new readers to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The results are: 6,087 new readers to the *Militant* and 505 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, bringing the total of new subscribers over the ten week drive to 6,592, 82 percent of our goal.

Thousands more were introduced to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* through buying a single copy.

The high point of the drive was the 2,412 subscriptions sold at the huge Solidarity Day protests held across the country September 19. These protesters took advantage of the *Militant's* special offer of four issues for \$1.

When their special four-week subscriptions expired, more than 100 of these new readers renewed their subscriptions. Some have sold *Militant* subscriptions to at least one of their friends.

The Baltimore branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) sent in the following report on their visits to Solidarity Day subscribers: "We have had lengthy political discussions and so far have four renewals including one six-month subscription and one one-year subscription. The six-month subscription was to a young railroad worker who was particularly interested in Cuba and the Fidel Castro speeches. The year subscription is to an older worker who came to a *Militant* Forum we held the following night on Poland."

The Piedmont branch located in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, followed up on the Solidarity Day subscribers by sending out a mailing including information on the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention scheduled for December 31-January 3 in Philadelphia. One young person from Wilmington indicated he now wants to attend the convention and find out more about the YSA.

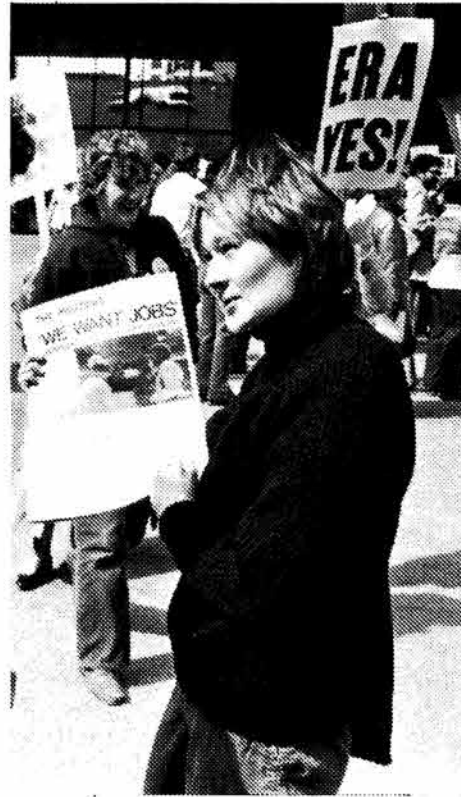
As a result of the tremendous success at Solidarity Day, thirteen branches raised their subscription goals.

## Ringing doorbells

The bulk of the 6,592 subscriptions were gathered in door-to-door canvassing in working class neighborhoods. In areas where there were local election campaigns, socialists combined campaigning with the selling of subscriptions.

Discussions, often lengthy, were held in home after home. The anticapitalist, antiwar stance of the *Militant* was warmly received by many. The *Militant's* vision of the better world that socialism will bring about and what can be done now to help bring this about was also a topic of discussion.

*Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*



salespeople learned more about what working people are thinking; and that it often takes long political discussion to sell a subscription.

Answers to the big political questions on the minds of working people, whether it be the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, Iran, Poland, or the depth of the employer's attacks in this country had to be more sharply tuned.

San Antonio socialists found that many times someone would not have the money for a sub. A follow-up visit would often net a new reader.

Socialist industrial workers found that subs could be sold on the job at a quick pace.

New York City transit workers sold forty-six subscriptions; machinists in Los Angeles sold forty; steelworkers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant outside of Baltimore sold eighteen, and seventeen were sold by miners in the Pittsburgh area.

Nationally, 22 percent of the subscriptions sold over the fall were to people who indicated themselves members of an industrial union. This figure is an increase of 6 percent from a similar drive last fall.

## Regional subbing

Teams that traveled to cities where there are few or no subscribers proved this to be a valuable way for socialists to reach out to a larger layer of workers.

The most successful team was one that traveled throughout Pennsylvania for six weeks. The team visited the industrial centers of Erie and Altoona and such college campuses as Lincoln and Cheyney State. Overall they found a big interest in socialist ideas, selling over 1,100 copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fifty-eight subscriptions were sold. Many young people the team met are now interested in attending the YSA's convention in Philadelphia.

Close to half of the subscriptions sold

## Final scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
*Lincoln	40	61	0	2	40	63	158
**Cleveland	55	70	5	6	60	76	127
Denver	95	107	5	7	100	114	114
*Portland	75	79	0	1	75	80	107
Twin Cities	180	191	0	2	180	193	107
Kansas City	125	145	25	14	150	159	106
Salt Lake City	140	154	20	15	160	169	106
Atlanta	165	184	10	0	175	184	105
Detroit	200	211	15	15	215	226	105
San Diego	90	103	30	19	120	122	102
Louisville	125	126	0	0	125	126	101
New Orleans	110	109	0	2	110	111	101
*Boston	200	217	25	9	225	226	100
*Iron Range	110	110	0	0	110	110	100
*Piedmont	180	179	0	1	180	180	100
*Washington, D.C.	235	234	40	34	275	268	97
Capital District	90	86	5	1	95	87	92
*San Antonio	130	118	35	30	165	148	90
*Harrisburg	130	116	0	0	130	116	89
*Philadelphia	130	127	40	22	170	149	88
St. Louis	115	100	5	1	120	101	84
Los Angeles	325	291	75	36	400	327	82
*Pittsburgh	290	242	10	3	300	245	82
Phoenix	75	65	25	15	100	80	80
Tucson	20	24	15	4	35	28	80
Newark	275	253	75	24	350	277	79
Chicago	215	179	35	15	250	194	78
*Birmingham	200	145	0	3	200	148	74
*Brooklyn	475	366	75	35	550	401	73
Oakland	170	137	30	3	200	140	70
Milwaukee	150	114	25	6	175	120	69
Seattle	140	94	10	8	150	102	68
Baltimore	130	90	5	1	135	91	67
Morgantown	120	80	0	0	120	80	67
Gary	115	81	10	1	125	82	66
Indianapolis	125	72	0	0	125	72	58
San Francisco	150	104	50	10	200	114	57
**Toledo	50	26	0	0	50	26	52
**Cincinnati	70	34	0	1	70	35	50
Albuquerque	60	35	25	7	85	42	49
Dallas	110	55	50	23	160	78	49
Miami	90	44	10	3	100	47	47
*Manhattan	705	360	245	69	950	429	45
Tidewater	120	49	0	0	120	49	41
San Jose	90	35	40	12	130	47	36
Charleston	125	27	0	0	125	27	22
Houston	135	20	40	3	175	23	13
Miscellaneous		238		42	0	280	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7250</b>	<b>6087</b>	<b>1110</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>8360</b>	<b>6592</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>6938</b>		<b>1062</b>		<b>8000</b>	<b>100</b>

\*indicates area that raised goal

\*\*indicates area that petitioned to put SWP on ballot during part of the drive

by the Kansas City branch were sold at Kansas University in Lawrence, Kansas, where a new YSA chapter has just been formed.

The Salt Lake City branch traveled to Price, Utah, and won twelve new readers in one weekend, six of whom are miners.

Socialists in the San Francisco Bay area helped to gather new subs in Seaside where SWP leader Mel Mason holds a seat on the city council. Some thirty people are now following Mason's activities regularly in the *Militant*.

## Central America

As the war danger in Central America and the Caribbean escalated, socialists moved quickly into action. Thousands of single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold during the course of one week. For many areas, these were the highest sales they have experienced in some time. Birmingham reports selling 159 *Militant's* in one week; Newark 270; Twin Cities 162.

For some areas, like San Antonio, subscription gathering slowed up as the branch focused its efforts on selling large numbers of single copies. But for most areas, the number of subs gathered during this emergency effort was either close to what they had been doing during the drive or better.

While important lessons were learned from all these experiences, the fact is that after the big successes experienced at Solidarity Day, the drive lagged. On the average only 400 subscriptions were sold each week, 200 short of what was necessary to make the goal. Only fifteen areas made or surpassed their goal. Special recognition needs to go to the new YSA chapter in Lincoln, Nebraska, that set its sights on selling forty subs

and surpassed this goal by selling sixty-three subscriptions. Of these, they report that twenty-seven are to rail workers.

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* suffered even more. Only three areas made or surpassed their *Perspectiva Mundial* goal. These areas were conscious of organizing door-to-door teams to Spanish communities. For example, the Philadelphia branch sent a team to nearby Camden, N.J.

Most areas, slow in organizing the drive after the success on September 19, were not able to catch up.

We learned from this drive that we can use the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to get out our ideas about big political events. But also as the key way socialists participate in the discussions of these developments that are taking place in the factories, mines, mills, and in workers' homes all over the country.

## Future plans

During this month, socialists will be continuing to get out the truth about the war danger in Central America and the Caribbean by selling single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Subscriptions will also be sold, particularly to activists in the solidarity movement.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* can be used to help build the YSA convention and the upcoming rallies for democratic rights organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund that are taking place in many cities during the month of December.

In addition, we will want to get in touch with the subscribers we met this fall, arranging visits to discuss the issues in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, inviting them to public forums, rallies, and socialist bookstores and to the YSA convention.

## Help needed for special features

This week four pages have been added to the *Militant* in order to publish the speech given by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the recent solidarity conference held in Grenada. This special feature is part of the *Militant's* increased coverage of the revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean and the threat of U.S. military moves.

In the past month we have sent reporters to Cuba and Nicaragua and have attempted to provide as much on-the-spot coverage as we can. So far seven of our readers have contributed a total of \$912 to help make this possible. These contributions are greatly appreciated.

We think the additional printing

and mailing costs involved in publishing the Bishop speech were well worth it. If you agree, you can help make more such features possible by sending in a contribution to the *Militant* today. Just fill in the coupon below and mail it with whatever you can afford.

I WANT TO HELP. Enclosed is my contribution of \$10 \_\_\_\_\_ \$50 \_\_\_\_\_ \$100 \_\_\_\_\_ \$500 \_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y., 10014.



## John Reed explains how U.S. 'helps' colonies



JOHN REED

A new movie, 'Reds,' about the lives of John Reed and Louise Bryant, opened in theaters last week, with reviews in many newspapers and national magazines.

Reed, an American journalist, wrote an eye-witness account of the Russian revolution, 'Ten Days That Shook the World.' He was a founding member of the American Communist Party and a vigorous proponent of an end to capitalism.

Reed attended the Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in the Azerbaijani city of Baku, on the Caspian Sea, in September 1920. Called by the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Baku conference was an effort by the Russian Revolution to reach out to its natural ally, the oppressed masses of the colonial and semicolonial world.

The 1,900 delegates were representatives of communist parties and national liberation movements from at least seventeen countries, including China, India, the Crimea, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan.

In 'Reds' Reed is shown at Baku. We thought our readers would be interested in reading what he wrote for the conference. As a representative from one of the strongest imperialist powers, Reed prepared the speech below. Due to time, many representatives, including Reed, were unable to deliver their greetings, and it was agreed that they would be published in the proceedings of the congress.

The full transcript of the Baku congress is available for \$4.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the greatest imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French, and Italian imperialists, and probably you think that "free America" will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them.

No. The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, they know what it means to live under the rule of "free America."

Take, for example, the peoples of the Philippines. In 1898 the Filipinos rebelled against the cruel colonial government of Spain, and the Americans helped them. But after the Spaniards had been driven out the Americans did not want to go away.

Then the Filipinos rose against the Americans, and this time the "liberators" started to kill them, their wives, and children: they tortured them and eventually conquered them. They seized their land and forced them to work and make profits for American capitalists.

The Americans have promised the Filipinos independence. Soon an independent Filipino republic will be proclaimed. But this does not mean that the American capitalists will leave or that the Filipinos will not continue to work to make profits for them. The American capitalists have given the Filipino leaders a share of their profits — they have given them government jobs, land, and money — they have created a Filipino capitalist class which also lives on the profits created by the workers — and in whose interest it is to keep the Filipinos in slavery.

This has also happened in Cuba, which was freed from Spanish rule with the help of Americans. It is now an independent republic. But American millionaire trusts own all the sugar plantations, apart from some small tracts which they have let the Cuban cap-

italists have: the latter also administer the country. And the moment that the workers of Cuba try to elect a government which is not in the interests of the American capitalists, the United States of America sends soldiers into Cuba to compel the people to vote for their oppressors.

### Haiti

Or let us take the example of the republics of Haiti and San Domingo, where the peoples won freedom a century ago. Since this island was fertile and the people living on it could be put to use by the American capitalists, the government of the U.S. sent soldiers and sailors there on the pretext of maintaining order and smashed these two republics, setting up in their place a military dictatorship worse than the British tyrants.

Mexico is another rich country which is close to the U.S.A. In Mexico live a backward people who were enslaved for centuries, first by the Spaniards and then by foreign capitalists. There, after many years of civil war, the people formed their own government, not a proletarian government but a democratic one, which wanted to keep the wealth of Mexico for the Mexicans and tax the foreign capitalists. The American capitalists did not concern themselves with sending bread to the hungry Mexicans. No, they initiated a counterrevolution in Mexico, in which Madero, the first revolutionary president, was killed. Then, after a three-year struggle, the revolutionary regime was restored, with Carranza as president. The American capitalists made another counterrevolution and killed Carranza, establishing once more a government friendly to themselves.

In North America itself there are 10 million Negroes who possess neither political or civil rights, despite the fact that by law they are equal citizens. With the purpose of distracting the attention of the American workers from the capitalists, their exploiters, the latter stir up hatred against the Negroes, provoking war between the white and Black races. The Negroes, whom they lawlessly burn alive, are beginning to see that their only hope lies in armed resistance to the white bandits.

At the present time the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam.

These same American capitalists incite the American workers and farmers against each other: they starve and exploit the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines, they savagely kill and burn alive American Negroes, and in America itself American workers are obliged to work under frightful conditions, receiving low wages for a long workday. When they are exhausted they are thrown out onto the street, where they die of hunger.

The same gentleman who is now in charge of bringing aid to the starving Armenians, Mr. Cleveland Dodge, who writes emotional articles about how the Turks have driven the Armenians into the desert, is the owner of big copper mines where thousands of American workers are exploited, and when these workers dared to go on strike the guards protecting Mr. Dodge's mines drove them at the point of the bayonet out into the desert — just as was done to the Armenians.

### Food from U.S.

Many Armenians are grateful to America for its attitude to the Armenians who suffered from the brutality of the Turks during the war. But what has America done for the Armenians apart from issuing wordy declarations? Nothing. I was in Constantinople at that time, in 1915, and I know that the missionaries refused to make any serious protest against the atrocities, saying that they had a lot of property in Turkey and so did not want to bring pressure to bear on the Turks. The American ambassador, Mr. Strauss, himself a millionaire who exploited thousands of workers in his enterprises in America, proposed that the entire Armenian people be shipped to America, and himself donated quite a large sum for this project to be carried out; but his plan was to make the Armenians work in American factories and provide cheap labor so as to increase the profits of Mr. Strauss and his friends.

But why do the American capitalists promise aid and food to Armenia? Is it out of pure philanthropy? If so, let them feed the peoples of Central America and help the Negroes of America itself.

No. The main reason is that there is mineral wealth in Armenia, and that it is a big reservoir of

cheap labor which can be exploited by American capitalists.

The American capitalists want to win the confidence of the Armenians with a view to getting their claws into Armenia and enslaving the Armenian nation. It is with this aim that American missionaries have established schools in the Near East.

But there is also another very important reason: the American capitalists, together with the other capitalist nations, united in the League of Nations, are afraid that the workers and peasants of Armenia will follow the example of Soviet Russia and Soviet Azerbaijan, will take power and their country's resources into their own hands, and will work for themselves, making a united front with the workers and peasants of the whole world against world imperialism. The American capitalists are afraid of a revolution in the East.

Promising food to starving peoples and at the same time organizing a blockade of the Soviet Republics — that is the policy of the United States. The blockade of Soviet Russia has starved to death thousands of Russian women and children. This same method of blockade was applied in order to turn the Hungarian people against their soviet government. The same tactic is now being used in order to draw the people of White Hungary into war against Soviet Russia. This method is also being used in the small countries bordering on Russia — Finland, Estonia, Latvia. But now all these small countries have been obliged to make peace with Soviet Russia: they are bankrupt and starving. Now the American government no longer offers them food; they are no longer of any use to America, and so their peoples can starve.

### American promises

The American capitalists promise bread to Armenia. This is an old trick. They promise bread but they never give it. Did Hungary get bread after the fall of the soviet government? No. The Hungarian people are still starving today. Did the Baltic countries get bread? No. At a time when the starving Estonians had nothing but potatoes, the American capitalists sent them ships laden with rotten potatoes which could not be sold at a profit in America. No, comrades, Uncle Sam is not one ever to give anybody something for nothing. He comes along with a sack stuffed with straw in one hand and a whip in the other. Whoever takes Uncle Sam's promises at their face value will find himself obliged to pay for them with blood and sweat. The American workers are demanding an ever larger share of the product of their labor; with a view to preventing revolution at home, the American capitalists are forced to seek out colonial peoples to exploit, peoples who will furnish sufficient profit to keep the American workers in obedience and so make them participants in the exploitation of the Armenians. I represent thousands of revolutionary American workers who know this, and who understand that, acting together with the Armenian workers and peasants, with the toiling masses of the whole world, they will overthrow capitalism. World capitalism will be destroyed, and all the peoples will be free. We appreciate the need for solidarity between all the oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!

There is only one road to freedom. Unite with the Russian workers and peasants who have overthrown their capitalists and whose Red Army has beaten the foreign imperialists! Follow the red star of the Communist International!

## Further reading

By V.I. Lenin

**National Liberation Movement in the East**

363 pp., \$2.45

**Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International**

176 pp., \$3.45

By Leon Trotsky

**First Five Years of the Communist International (Vol. 1)**

374 pp., \$5.95

**First Five Years of the Communist International (Vol. 2)**

384 pp., \$5.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage and handling.



# Reparations demanded by Japanese Americans

By Margaret Jayko

On November 23, a hearing was held in New York City on the herding of 120,000 Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, set up by Congress, has held hearings this year in cities across the country.

The Commission is supposed to issue a report next year "to determine whether any wrong was committed" by this mass incarceration and "to recommend appropriate remedies."

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 which uprooted all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and put them in inland concentration camps in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

In addition, 1,000 Aleut residents of both the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands (off Alaska) were also forced out of their homes and into camps.

The forced relocations were part of Roosevelt's efforts to whip up patriotism and a racist war hysteria. They were also aimed at intimidating potential opponents of Washington's entry into the inter-imperialist conflict.

According to a press release from East Coast Japanese Americans for Redress, "The confinement lasted for the duration of the war, at the end of which time property losses were estimated at \$400 million. Six internees were shot and killed by U.S. soldiers from guard towers. 1,862 inmates died during the incarceration from illnesses or due to inadequate medical care. More than 1,000

more were later hospitalized in mental institutions and tuberculosis hospitals."

The main demand being raised by Japanese Americans is monetary compensation for the shattered lives of these victims of U.S. militarism and racism.

William Kochiyama described his experience, "... four days before my twenty-first birthday, I entered Tanforan Assembly Center... where most of the Japanese in the San Francisco/bay area were incarcerated.

"... At the entrance of the converted race track stood two long lines of troops with rifles and fixed bayonets pointed at the evacuees as they walked between the soldiers to the prison compound."

His father, who lived in New York, later told him, "... soon after the outbreak of the war every Issei [first generation Japanese] in the metropolitan area had been visited and investigated by the FBI... some permanent resident Japanese were taken into custody by federal agents and police and whisked off to Ellis Island."

Speaker after speaker told about parents who had come to this country, worked hard, and despite the rampant racism, established themselves in a small farm or business — only to lose it all when they were forced to leave.

They described the dirty, cramped quarters in which they were forced to live, with no privacy, lacking adequate food, medical care, education, and recreation.

Mrs. Yuriko Tsukada, a professional social worker, submitted a written statement that went through many case histories of physically and mentally handicapped children who were irrepar-



ably damaged by delayed or denied medical treatment.

Motoko Spiegel's testimony described what happened to his father's family after they got out of the camp: "Father's family had disintegrated and now he and mother were working as a domestic-help couple... My brother was now working as a live-in houseboy."

The long day of bitter, angry, and sad testimony ended with a panel of Sansei

(third generation Japanese). Some were in camps, though most were born later.

They pointed to the effects of Reagan's cutbacks on Asian studies programs, and stressed that along with monetary compensation, Asian studies should be taught in all the schools. In addition, they felt the truth must be gotten out about the criminal imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

## Women in Revolt

### Washington goes after Planned Parenthood

I want to use my column this week to take note of some news about the fight for women's rights.

The Feds are going after Planned Parenthood Federation, the largest private family planning agency in the country. Thirty-five of the federation's 188 affiliates are being audited by the government. They claim they want to ascertain whether Planned Parenthood is illegally using federal funds to promote abortion as a means of birth control.

This investigation was undertaken at the urging of Republican Senators Orrin Hatch and Jeremiah Denton, both fanatic opponents of abortion.

As Planned Parenthood's president Faye Wattleton pointed out, these audits have been "undertaken as a harassment technique."

\* \* \*

On November 30, a federal appeals court in St. Louis overturned a Missouri law that required all second trimester (fourth to sixth month) abortions to be performed in hospitals. The suit was filed by Planned Parenthood.

The ruling said that requiring hospitalization for such abortions placed an unnecessary financial burden on women and that the state failed to prove a medical necessity that the abortions be performed in a hospital.

The court found that procedures outside the hospital "are not more dangerous to the maternal health than hospitalized procedures."

\* \* \*

Also on November 30, the Supreme Court ruled

that school districts cannot be forced to field coed teams in contact sports — as long as boys and girls have "separate but equal" opportunities.

The court rejected an appeal by twelve-year-old Karen O'Connor who sought a tryout with the boys' basketball team at her junior high school. O'Connor charged that the separation by sex violated her constitutional rights and federal laws against sex discrimination in publicly funded school sports.

\* \* \*

A judge in Richmond, Virginia approved an agreement by Eastern Airlines to pay \$240,000 in back wages to female flight attendants who won a federal court ruling that they were illegally grounded for becoming pregnant.

—By Margaret Jayko

## What Polish workers and farmers are fighting for

Poland: Workers in Revolt, by Dave Frankel, DeAnn Rathbun, and Ernest Harsch, Pathfinder Press, \$1.25

What are the Polish workers fighting for?

This is a question on the minds of millions in this country who are following the courageous actions of the independent trade union, Solidarity.

Poland: Workers in Revolt, recently published by Pathfinder Press, explains the major issues behind this historic revolution.

### In Review

The pamphlet consists of three articles. The first, "The Polish revolution — how it developed, where it is going," by Dave Frankel, analyzes the revolutionary process, led by the working class, going on in Poland today.

Frankel describes the tasks of this revolution, occurring in a country where the factories, mines, and railroads are not privately owned by billionaires, as in the United States and other capitalist countries.

He points out that it is not the nationalized and planned economy that is responsible for the economic crisis in Poland, as the U.S. big-business media contend, but the mismanagement and corruption of a privileged, ruling elite. A bureaucracy has usurped the power from the working class on every level of society.

Frankel describes this bureaucracy by contrasting it to the revolutionary government of Cuba. The Polish bureaucracy is not concerned with advancing the struggle of workers and farmers around the world, but with safeguarding its own privileged position.

In Cuba, the spirit of internationalism prevails. All attempts are made by the government — despite economic hardships and the dangers posed by U.S. imperialism — to advance revolutionary struggles around the world.

The second article is an interview with DeAnn Rathbun, a coal miner from Pittsburgh, who traveled to Poland this spring.

Rathbun, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh in the November elections, provides readers with a perspective of the Polish revolution through the eyes of an American worker. This also enabled her to have particularly interesting discussions with the Polish people she met.

They were particularly interested in the fact that she is an underground coal miner, because women in Poland don't work underground.

The last article, "Communist Party ranks demand sweeping reform," by Ernest Harsch, who traveled to Poland this summer, deals with the movement for democracy that flared up within the ruling Communist Party this year prior to the special ninth party congress in July.

Harsch quotes one of the leaders of this movement, Zbigniew Iwanow, the first secretary of the party branch in the Towimor machine tool plant in Torun.

"Today," Iwanow states, "they say that the factories belong to us, but that is not true. They are in the hands of the government [which is] led by a very limited group... and they are the ones who make the decisions. Society as a whole has no influence, but it feels all the consequences of all their decisions."

The direction of the revolution in Poland today poses taking the reins of power from this small group and putting them into the hands of the working class.

This fight to advance socialism in Poland is carefully described from many angles in this Pathfinder pamphlet.

—Suzanne Haig





**Chins up** — Nancy Reagan's social secretary was called to order by the first lady's press secretary. The social secretary had declared a "terrible crisis," what with the White House being down to its last six sets of tablecloths with no cash to buy more. But the press secretary assured the White House didn't consider the situation "frightening."

**Where would they get that idea?** — William Cabin, a ranking New York state official was sentenced to a maximum of seven years for swindling taxpayers out of \$178,000 in a payroll padding scheme. He will be eligible for parole after a year. The judge said that what Cabin did "lends credence to the unfortunate belief by the general public that people . . . in government can't be trusted."

**Defending our way** — In Brazil they had to take him from the campus in a police van after he was barricaded and then pelted with eggs. In Peru, students bluntly told him to get out. He apparently made it through scheduled lectures in Chile and Argentina. What made Henry Kissinger hang in there through all this? Simple. An estimated \$155,000 in lecture fees for the two-week trip.

**Only in America** — A recent CBS "Morning" show segment on cuts in health care opened with shots of elderly people singing "God Bless America," none too enthusiastically. The reporter came in: "Here at the Annabird Manor nursing home [in Virginia], the residents had something to sing about — only seven of them are going to lose their Medicaid payments and have to leave."

**Must be a good reference** — Fred Roti, a Chicago Democratic alderman who's tight with Mayor Byrne, has ten relatives on the city payroll to the tune

of \$377,000 a year. The alderman said he had not used influence to get them the jobs, but he had "recommended" some of them.

**Cheaper than bombing them** — Texas state Senator Walter Mengden, an aspirant to the U.S. senate, says the United States should store its nuclear waste in El Salvador. He said, "We've marched all over the world for democracy. . . . If we secure El Salvador for that dictator then we should store our nuclear waste there in east El Salvador where no one lives."

## What's Going On

### Rallies to defend democratic rights

#### ALABAMA

##### BIRMINGHAM

**RALLY TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party; Windell Stephenson, vice president, Bessemer NAACP, activist in "cattle-prod" case against police brutality; Curtis Stanton, vice president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 2022; representatives, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and American Civil Liberties Union. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. St. Joseph's Baptist Church, 504 9th Ave. North. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

#### CALIFORNIA

##### SAN DIEGO

**RALLY TO DEFEND BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party; Simon Casady, political activist, retired newspaper publisher; representative, Irish Rights Committee; local antidraft activist; representative, Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexico; Entertainment from Womansong. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Grassroots Cultural Center, 30th and Grape. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

##### BOSTON

**DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS! STOP ALL FBI, CIA, AND INS CRIMES!** Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, plaintiff in suit against government spying; Franz Minuty, host of radio talk show "Caribbean Safari"; Eoin O'Murca, H-Block/Armagh Committee; Jean-Claude Martineau, Haitian activist; Penny

Johnson, national communications director, Association of Arab-American University Graduates; Richard Landoli, immigration lawyer. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

##### HARRISBURG

**RALLY TO DEFEND YOUR POLITICAL RIGHTS.** Speakers: Rich Barabetta, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 227; Jane Perkins, member-elect, Harrisburg City Council; Andrew Stern, president, Pennsylvania Social Services Union (SEIU); Herbert Hunter, professor of sociology, PSU Capitol Campus; John Studer, executive director, Political Rights Defense Fund. Tues., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. Harrisburg Friends Meeting House, 6th and Herr St. Donation requested. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

##### CHARLESTON

**A RALLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.** Speakers: Chuck Hollowell, striking air traffic controller; Nelson Blackstock, *Militant* staff writer, author of *COINTELPRO: FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*; Marion Bustin, United Mine Workers Local 2095, and Young Socialist Alliance; Dr. Betty James, professor of education, civil rights activist; Steve Legeay, People Against War Preparations; Rev. John Price. Sat., Dec. 12, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

#### CALIFORNIA

##### SEASIDE

**BEHIND U.S. WAR THREATS IN THE CARIBBEAN.** Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party, city council member. Slide show from recent tour of Cuba. Wed., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. Seaside Library, 550 Harcourt Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 373-8347.

#### GEORGIA

##### ATLANTA

**NICARAGUA: ANOTHER VIETNAM?** Speakers: Dion Lerman, Atlanta Committee for Latin America; Anna Schell, Young Socialist Alliance. Slide show: "Nicaragua: the Challenge of Revolution." Sun., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

#### ILLINOIS

##### CHICAGO

**REVOLUTIONARY CONTINUITY: MARXIST LEADERSHIP IN THE U.S., PAST AND PRESENT.** Three classes by Susan Lamont, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 12 noon and 3 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 13, 11 a.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$2 per class, \$5 all three. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

#### MICHIGAN

##### DETROIT

**AUTO WORKERS IN THE '80s: HOW TO FIGHT BACK.** Speaker: Jon Britton, United Auto Workers Local 980, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 13, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

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**'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.'** Film by Sergei Eisenstein. Sun., Dec. 20, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

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**WHY WON'T REAGAN WELCOME THE CARIBBEAN REFUGEES? HAITIAN, SALVADORAN BLOOD ON INS'S HANDS.** Speakers: John McCalla, Haitian Workers Association; representative, Friends of Haiti. Slide show: "Haiti: the Weak Link." Sat., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3441.

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**POLAND'S SOLIDARITY: WHAT IT MEANS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS.** Slide show and discussion. Speakers: Tom Pontolillo, member, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Local 501, and member of Young Socialist Alliance; George Saunders, who visited Poland last spring. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

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**REAGANISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT.** Socialist Educational Conference. Classes and workshops (in English and Spanish) on Black nationalism, labor history, workers democracy and socialism, women's struggles. Sat., Dec. 12, 10 a.m. Columbia University, Barnard Hall, 3rd floor, 117th St. and Broadway. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

#### OHIO

##### CLEVELAND

**THE NEW THREAT OF WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.** Speakers: Gumerindo Ruiz, Puerto Rican activist; Glenn Campbell, member, Young Socialist Alliance and Central America Solidarity Committee; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

#### OREGON

##### PORTLAND

**WATT, REAGAN, AND BIG BUSINESS: THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.** Speakers: Ron Richards, Young Socialist Alliance; representative, Sierra Club. Sun., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

#### WASHINGTON

##### SEATTLE

**THE PENTAGON'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUILDUP: MILLIONS SAY 'NO.'** Speakers: Doug Rabin, marine biologist, Physicians for Social Responsibility; Mike Shur, Socialist Workers Party. Film: *War Without Winners*. Sun., Dec. 13, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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**GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE.** Refreshments, come in and browse. Sat., Dec. 12, 10 a.m.-2 p.m. 1584-A E. Washington St. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

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cialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

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**NICARAGUA TODAY: HAIG'S LIES UNDONE.** Speaker: Kathy Michaels, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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# Letters

## Claude McKay

Your introduction to the Communist International's Fourth World Congress (1922) resolution on the Black struggle (*Militant*, December 11) refers to a letter by Leon Trotsky to Claude McKay soon after the Fourth Congress. Some readers may be interested to know that this letter is in print under the title, "A Letter to Comrade McKay," in Trotsky's *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, vol. 2 (Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press).

The introduction says, "The world conference on the Black struggle projected in the Comintern resolution was never held." This is not precisely correct. The "First International Conference of Negro Workers," which was held at Hamburg, Germany, in July 1930 was not held in the name of the Comintern, but it was organized and run by well known auxiliary and front organizations of the Comintern. Of course by that time the Comintern no longer was following a Leninist course.

It was helpful of the introduction to summarize Lenin's views of American Blacks as an oppressed nation (1917 and 1920). It would also have been helpful to explain why these views of Lenin were not expressed or reflected in the Comintern's 1922 resolution that you reprinted. *George Breitman*  
New York, N.Y.

## Art exhibit

A highly touted art exhibit, entitled the *Vietnam Experience*, is on display in New York. As far as I am concerned, the censors did such a hatchet job that it isn't worth going to see.

Virtually the entire show, with the exception of six small photographs of antiwar Vietnam veterans, is dedicated to the glory of war and convincing all of us that Vietnam wasn't so bad after all. Neither the paintings, photographs, nor sculptures tell the true story of the despair, U.S. torture, bombings, and destruction of Vietnamese society by the U.S.

imperialists. Instead, we get pictures of smiling Vietnamese children, American flags, and "bombs for Charlie." The racism of the exhibit is heightened by the fact that there is only one Black GI portrayed in the whole show.

Perhaps I should have expected as much from a show sponsored by the SCM corporation; but the boldness of the prowar propaganda caught me by surprise, as it must have the scores of Vietnam vets who were filing thru the exhibit. I can imagine the rage they must have felt.

Although not a proponent of Joe Stalin's proletarian art, for sure, art cannot be separated from politics. The selection of other works by other artists could have left the viewer with a powerful anger to be channeled into protests against current U.S. war threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

*Mark Friedman*  
Brooklyn, New York

## Peace Corps

*Militant* readers may be interested in the following excerpts from a statement distributed by a Peace Corps "graduate" at a fair organized by the Peace Corps.

*Sue Adley*,  
Denver, Colorado

I spent 1977 and 1978 as a Peace Corps volunteer in Guatemala working in soil conservation, reforestation, and general agriculture.

In the evenings I read. I read that in 1954 the CIA overthrew a popularly-elected, liberal, reformist government in Guatemala. They installed in its place a brutal military dictatorship which has ruled by force ever since. I read about the counterinsurgency program of the 1960s, planned by the U.S., which killed thousands of Guatemalans in order to eliminate thirty or forty guerrillas.

I saw that while the Peace Corps and other aid agencies dealt with the symptoms of poverty, the real root causes went unaddressed. Some of these root causes are: 1) the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few; 2) the lack of democracy and

political freedoms which allow for peaceful social changes and reforms. In 1980 alone, over 32,000 leaders among moderate political parties, farmworkers, clergy, trade unions, and journalists were killed by government order.

Given all of this, I am opposed to the Peace Corps because it works with precisely those agencies which are most interested in preserving the status quo, namely the State Department of the U.S. It hasn't improved the quality of life in host countries. In fact, conditions have gotten steadily worse during its twenty-year existence; and it was formed out of fear of the Cuban revolution, rather than to truly help the world's needy.

*Stuart Williams*

## Antiwar resolution

At a recent meeting of the state executive board of the Social Services Union, Local 535, a resolution was adopted opposing U.S. military intervention against the unfolding revolutions in Central America.

Local 535 represents 10,000 health, welfare, and human services workers in California.

Further evidence of concern among the fifty delegates present at this meeting was the fact that I was able to sell thirty-five single issues of the *Militant* and fourteen subscriptions. I could have sold more singles, but simply ran out of papers.

*Walter Lippman*  
Los Angeles, California

## North Dakota socialist

Henry Martinson, North Dakota's oldest and most well known socialist, died November 20 at the age of ninety-eight.

In 1908 he joined the Socialist Party (SP) at Minot, North Dakota. As a leader of the North Dakota SP, he edited *The Iconoclast* ("image breaker"), official weekly newspaper of the North Dakota SP. He ran for various state offices several times on the SP ticket.

In the early days of the Nonpartisan League, Martinson objected to the organization as "opportunistic,

and un-Marxist." When it became evident that the Socialist Party could not stem the tide of its farmer and worker members leaving the party to join ranks with the Nonpartisan League, Martinson joined hundreds of others as organizers for the Nonpartisan League.

He always emphasized that his going over to the NPL did not mean that he had changed his ideas or that he was no longer a socialist.

He was appointed North Dakota labor commissioner in 1935, and held that position for over twenty-eight years.

In the May 24, 1912, issue of *The Iconoclast*, Martinson said the Socialist Party wants no reform. "We want and demand change, and we are going to have it, and we will get it not through the parties that are owned and controlled by the ruling class, but through the party owned and controlled by the workers — the Socialist Party." Only months before he died, he reaffirmed those principles and said the problems facing workers today

will not be solved without revolution.

Martinson was instrumental in the making of *Prairie Fire* and *Northern Lights*, documentary films about the Nonpartisan League movement.  
*Erling Sannes*  
Bismark, North Dakota

## Corrections

In the last issue Egbal Ahmad was mistakenly referred to as an Arab activist along with Abdeen Jabara. Ahmad is Pakistani.

In the article on the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in the same issue, it was reported that the three resolutions on disarmament were not adopted. This was not accurate. The general resolution introduced by the conference sponsors, which included a section on disarmament, was adopted. Also one of the sponsoring organizations, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, did not vote for the sponsors' resolution as the article implied.



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# THE MILITANT

## Week of death in mines

By Linda May Flint

WEBSTER SPRINGS, W. Va. — Three miners were killed and one other seriously injured in a roof fall in a coal mine near here December 3.

Only four days later, eight miners were killed in an explosion in eastern Kentucky.

And the day after that, thirteen miners were killed in a methane gas explosion in eastern Tennessee, thirty miles northwest of Chattanooga.

Twenty-four miners killed in six days! These deaths add to the rising toll of victims of the mine owners' greed and federal budget cuts in mine safety enforcement.

Here in Webster County in east-central West Virginia the roof collapsed on the eight miners working the night shift. The Stillhouse Run mine is owned by Elk River Sewell Coal company in Bergoo, east of Webster Springs.

The mine is nonunion but United Mine Workers (UMW) District 31 officials and union miners immediately threw themselves into the rescue effort. Two miners were rescued by the union-staffed mine rescue teams.

But they also removed the bodies of the three victims: Donald Arbogast, 31; Robert Bennett, 34; and Doyle Gillis, 36. Donzil Cutlip, 27, who was rescued alive, was very badly injured and is in critical condition in the West Virginia University Medical Center in Morgantown.

Arbogast's brother told reporters that he had worried aloud on the morning of the accident that the roof was bad and he didn't want to go to work. But he went anyway.

The Kentucky disaster on December 7 was in the Number 18 mine of Adkins Coal Company near Topmost in Knott County.

The blast killed all but one worker on the night shift. The victims were Bob Slone, 39; Roy Perry, 22; Clarence Perry, 28; Dillard Ashley, 40; James Gib-

son, 24; Keith Crager, 25; Tommy Centers, 31; and David Slone, 25.

These young miners were members of the UMW.

In Tennessee, the worst mine disaster in that state in seventy years killed thirteen of the 117 miners at the Grundy Mining Company Number 21 mine December 8. The nonunion mine is near Palmer.

Important gains in mine safety were won a decade ago by powerful struggles of coal miners. These gains are being lost under the present antilabor offensive. Cutbacks in the federal mine safety program have sharply reduced the number of inspectors and the number of inspections that are carried out. These cuts, begun under the Carter administration, are accelerating under Reagan.

Carter imposed a hiring freeze on mine inspectors for the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA).

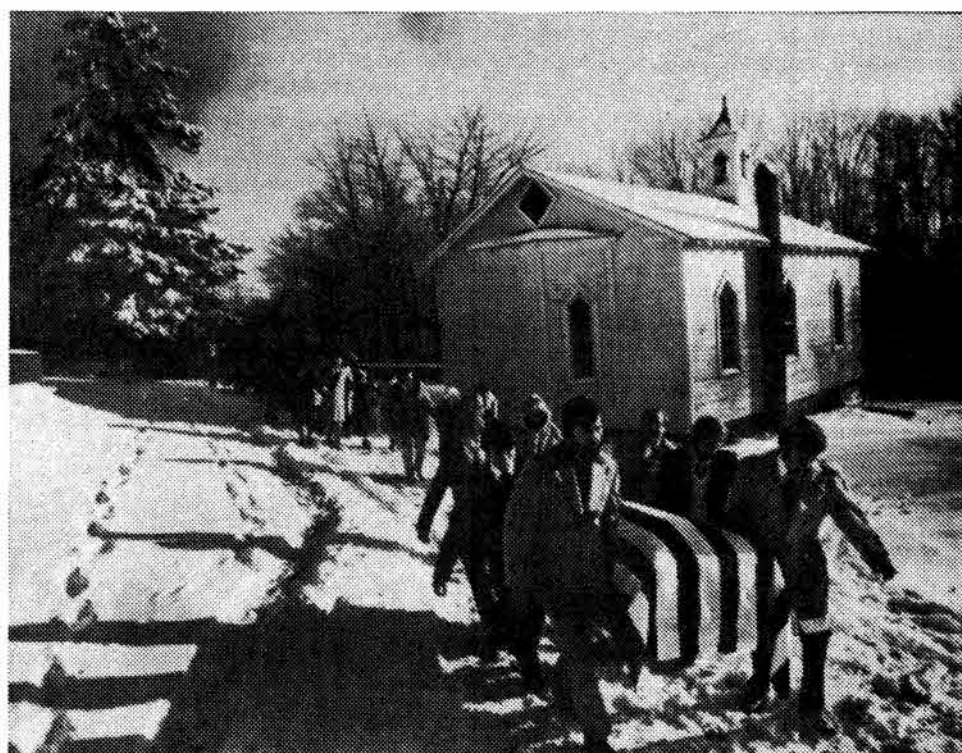
United Mine Workers District 17 President Jack Perry reported last summer that it resulted in a 50 percent cut in the number of mine inspectors in the MSHA office in Logan in southern West Virginia.

Nationally, MSHA admits that there are seventy-three fewer mine inspectors for 1981 than in 1980. Overall, about 10 percent of MSHA jobs have been cut this year.

The full extent of government cuts have still not been decided. The proposals from some of the most powerful congressmen would be devastating. Utah Senator Orrin Hatch and New Mexico Senator Harrison Schmitt are calling for slashing the MSHA budget in half. They want to also cut in half the number of inspections required in each mine.

In 1968 seventy-eight miners were killed in an explosion at the Consolidation Coal Number 9 mine in Farmington, West Virginia. Outrage by miners over this, which included a strike by miners in West Virginia, forced the federal government to adopt the Coal Mine Health and Safety Law of 1969.

Enforcement of that law was spurred



Robert Bennett, thirty-four, a Vietnam vet, killed December 6. A casualty of war by bosses and government against miners.

by the strength of union miners through their mine safety committees and the greater democratic control they won in their union. An unprecedented reduction in the number of mine fatalities was the result.

In 1970, one miner was killed for every million hours worked. With about 200,000 miners, this meant one death every five working hours. By 1976, the death rate was cut by two thirds.

About 70 percent of underground coal miners are members of the UMW. But the fatality rate in union mines is about half that in nonunion mines.

According to the latest issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, 111 miners were killed from the beginning of this year until November 15.

Of these deaths, fifty-one were union members and sixty were nonunion.

So far, there have been 142 miners

killed in 1981. In 1980, the death toll was 133. Considering the amount of time lost because of the long strike this year, the fatality rate has gone up significantly.

The figures again prove that union mines are safer. But coal mining remains the most dangerous occupation in the country. And it is getting worse.

The safety issue is at the center of the anti-union drive. Union enforced safety rules cost the companies money. The issue is so important that many nonunion mines pay somewhat higher wages just to keep out the union. They also use incentive pay bonuses to force miners to cut corners on safety.

The rise in mine deaths prove the necessity to organize nonunion mines. It's going to take an all-out effort because the companies and the government are in an all-out drive against miners.

## Black activist jailed, denied attorney

By Nelson González

The FBI-police terror campaign directed against the Black community in the aftermath of the Brink's robbery in Nyack, New York, is continuing with a vengeance.

Following frame-ups, beatings, and murder, the government has organized a "special" grand jury to "investigate" the events leading up to the Brink's robbery.

One of its principal victims is Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston). She was jailed for refusing to testify before the grand jury when the government accused her lawyer of being a "terrorist" and barred him from representing her.

Sunni Ali was originally arrested on October 27, when more than 150 cops broke into her home in Mississippi and arrested her and handcuffed twelve small children.

The media tried and convicted her of complicity in the Brink's robbery long before she even stepped into the courthouse.

Ten days later, the government's case fell flat on its face. Hard evidence was produced proving that Sunni Ali was in New Orleans at the time she was supposed to have been seen removing stolen goods in Nyack.

However, when she was released on November 5, Sunni Ali had not gotten beyond the courthouse steps before she

was slapped with a subpoena. It ordered her to testify before the grand jury and to provide handwriting and hair samples.

On November 30, appearing before the grand jury, Sunni Ali read a statement declaring: "The U.S. Attorney has obtained an order prohibiting my lawyer Chokwe Lumumba from representing me or anybody else in this district because he [the judge] does not like his [Chokwe's] political views. As a subpoenaed Grand Jury witness, I have the right to be represented by counsel of my choice. Since I believe that my subpoena is illegal for a number of reasons, I need Mr. Lumumba's assistance in order to challenge it. . . . The order barring him is now on appeal and I will not answer any questions before that appeal is decided."

Sunni Ali was then ordered to appear before Federal Judge Lee Gagliardi. At a December 7 hearing, from which the press and public were excluded, she again refused to testify. Gagliardi found her in contempt of court and ordered her jailed.

Sunni Ali faces up to eighteen months in jail for the crime of believing she has the right to be represented by a lawyer of her own choosing.

On the same day that Sunni Ali was cleared of the Brink's charges, and as

she was being subpoenaed by the grand jury, Judge Irving Cooper ruled in favor of a government motion barring Lumumba from representing her. Lumumba, who has not been charged for anything, was labeled by Judge Cooper as "an official of a Black-nationalist group, the Republic of New Africa [RNA], which the Federal Bureau of Investigation called a 'terrorist organization.'"

The RNA, of which Lumumba is a vice president, was founded in 1968 by 500 young Black militants. It has, according to its program, the aim of struggling to "solve the problems which affect Black people daily: poor housing, poor education . . . police brutality, racist attacks, unemployment, and all other injustices."

Using such criteria to label organizations "terrorist" makes it crystal clear that not only is the RNA on the government's hit list, but so is anyone who fights for social change.

The Black community has responded vigorously in defense of Sunni Ali. At a rally held in early December in Brooklyn, more than 1,000 people turned out. Minister Louis Farrakan of the Nation of Islam urged defense of the RNA and donated half the evening's collection to the RNA Defense Fund.

At a December 4-6 conference in New

York on Black self-determination, Chokwe Lumumba was one of the featured speakers before 200 people.

During Sunni Ali's two court appearances, at least 100 supporters turned out each time. On January 15, the Metropolitan Committee Against Government Terrorism is sponsoring a march in Harlem to protest government political terrorism against Sunni Ali and other activists.

### Socialist released in Santo Domingo

Claudio Tavarez, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT) of the Dominican Republic who was arrested on November 30, was released by the Department of Secret Services of the Dominican police. He served three days of solitary confinement.

He was closely questioned about the LRT's work in connection with the super-exploited Haitian sugar cane workers, as well as solidarity work with Central America and the Caribbean. He was accused of being a communist and attempting to organize a third column of Haitian workers inside the Dominican Republic in preparation to support an invasion by Haiti.